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ANECDOTES

OF THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF

LONDON

FROM THE ROMAN INVASION TO THE YEAR 1700;

INCLUDING

The Origin of British Society, Customs and Manners,
With a general Sketch of the State of Religion, Superstition, Dresses,
and Amusements of the Citizens of London, during that Period.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Illustrations of the Changes in our Language, Literary Customs,
and gradual Improvement in Style and Versification,
and various Particulars concerning Public and Private Libraries.

ILLUSTRATED BY EIGHTEEN ENGRAVINGS.

BY JAMES PELLER MALCOLM, F. A. S.

AUTHOR OF "LONDINIUM REDIVIVUM;" AND OF
"ANECDOTES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF LONDON
DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY," &c.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

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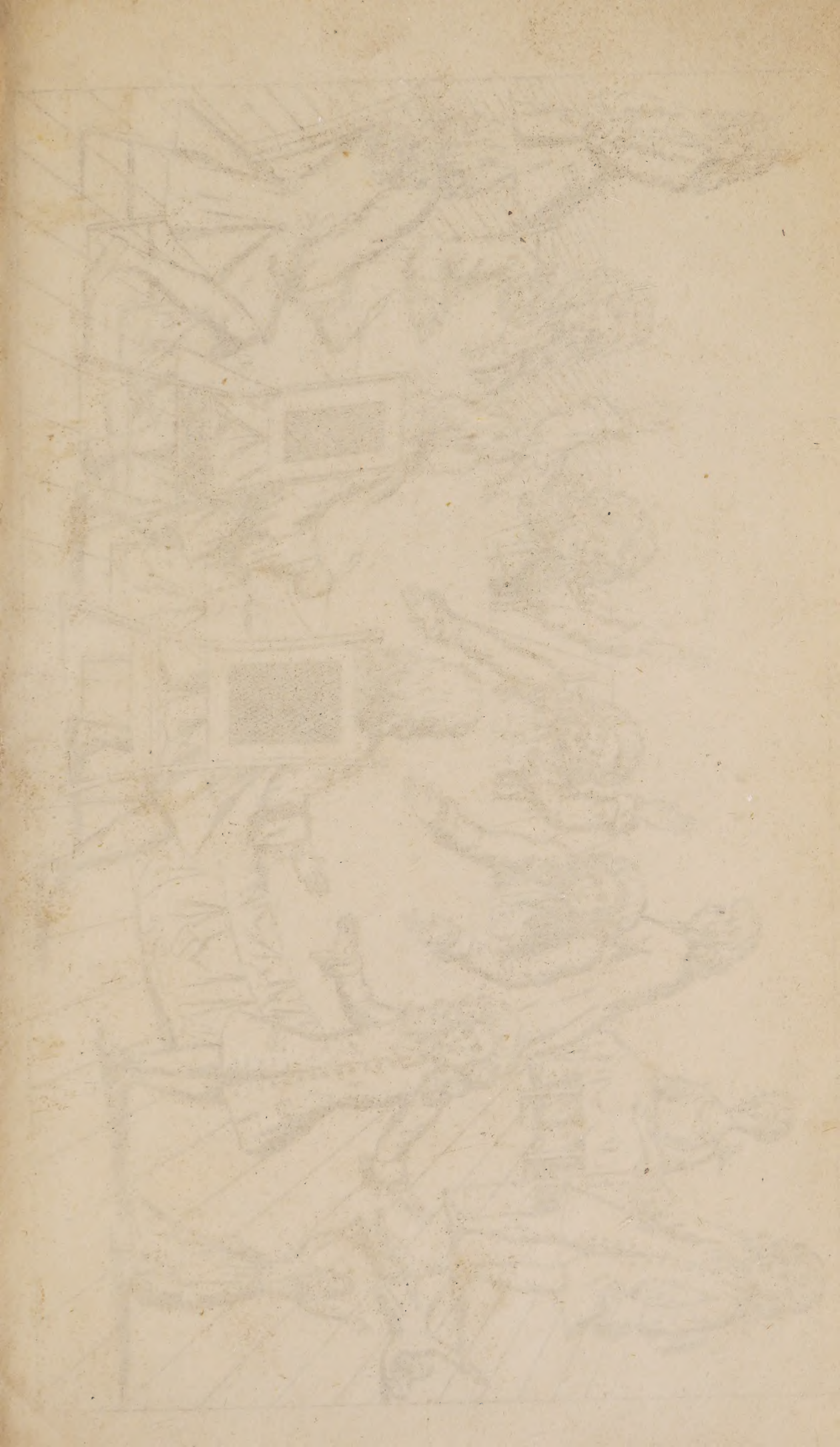
Page.

Chap. II. Religion.....1
——— III. Superstition.....216
——— IV. Dress.....279

PLATES.

Edward VI. in Council, 1549.....30
French Prophets.....214
Chiromancy.....270
Dress, twelve plates.....339

CHAP.



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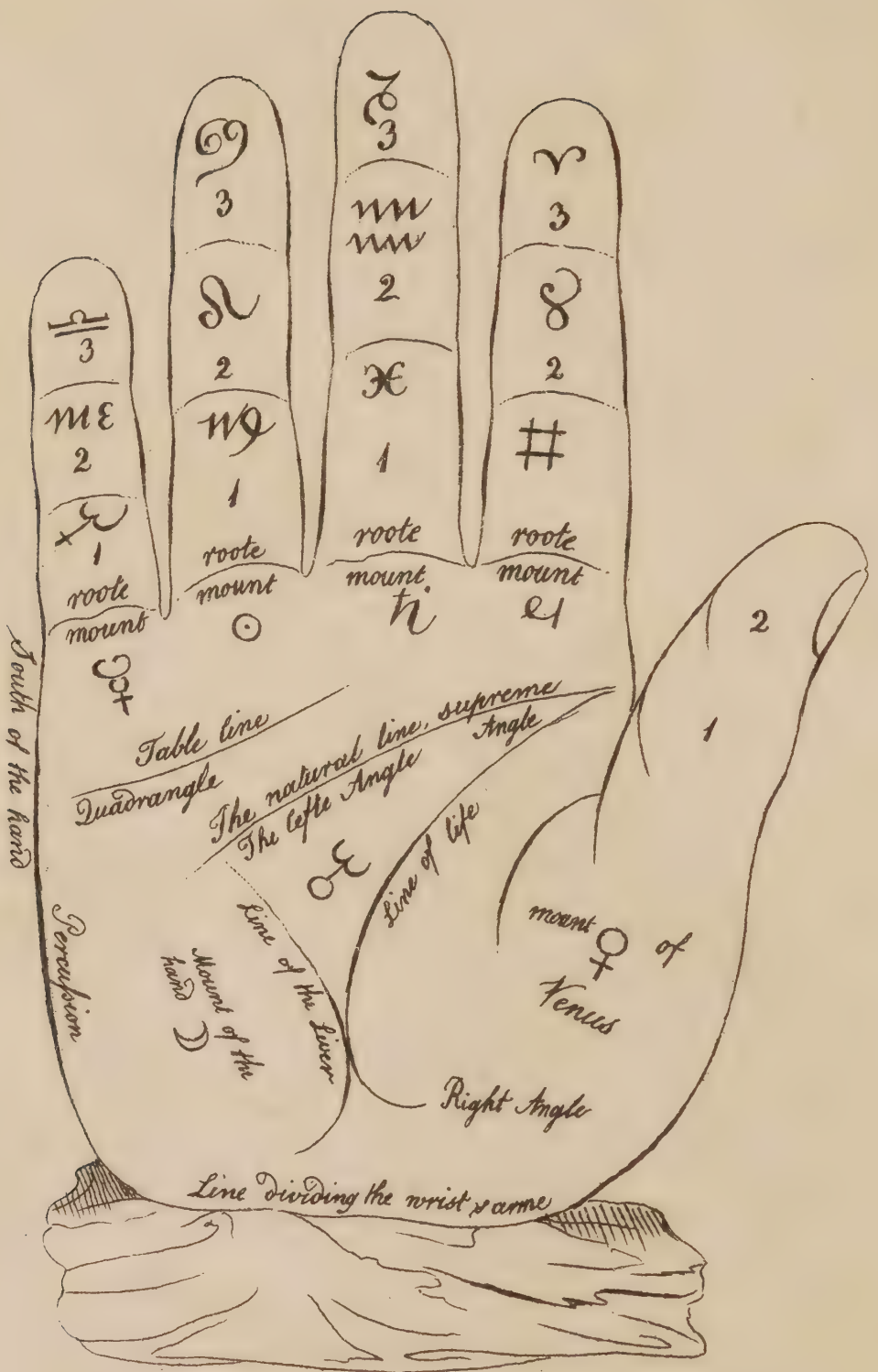
EDWARD VI. IN COUNCIL. 1549



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CHAP. II.

RELIGION.

THERE are no data on which an argument can be justly founded against the supposition, that the conceptions of our Aborigines strongly resembled those of other barbarous nations on this most important subject. The people least indebted to nature for capacity of intellect have a confused idea of a Supreme Being or Spirit, capable of injuring or of granting them benefits: this Spirit is worshiped by some descriptions of savages, and others endeavour to deprecate his malice.

A tribe of North American Indians was at one period generally said to be utterly incapable of comprehending the existence of a superior invisible power, from the fact of their never having been known to address themselves to a Divinity. The matter was accurately examined into by a zealous member of the English church; and the consequence was, they declared they fully believed the existence of a great and good Spirit, but that they conceived themselves so insignificant and unworthy, they dared not appear before him even

as petitioners. It would be unjust and cruel to imagine, after an examination of this and similar efforts of modern research, that our worthy but unenlightened predecessors were less capable of judging on their innate conceptions than the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Indians of North and South America, and the islands of the South Seas, blind and imperfect as these conceptions were.

If we are to credit Dion Cassius, who asserts that the Britons worshiped a goddess of Victory, Apollo, and Diana, we must also believe they had a commercial or incidental intercourse with different parts of the neighbouring continent where those imaginary deities were adored. Gildas, however, seems to come nearer to the truth in saying, their idols, or representations of spirits of light and darkness, were monsters more rude than any nature ever formed in her most capricious moods. Here we have probability to support us, and many idols of barbarians to illustrate those of the Britons; let us examine the ridiculous fancies of the Chinese, the more polished but equally absurd images of the Egyptians, and the fiend-like forms of the Otaheitans; and amongst them we shall not fail to find correct likenesses of the idols of England, which it seems impossible to suppose were constructed, as Julius Cæsar represents, for the purpose of receiving victims, or offerings, to be burnt with them. This horrid idea of consuming human beings within osiers, the *victim*

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and the *image*, is contrary to savage customs on every side, and can only be equalled by the folly of that sect of Christians who beat and drag the statues of their saints through kennels when their petitions to them fail of success.

The Druids were first mentioned by Caius Julius Cæsar with respect to their religious rites and laws: "Their name," says Selden, "is of a doubtful origination: by no means were they so called from that Druis or Druides we meet with in Berosus; but whether they were so termed from a Greek word Δρῦς, that signifies an oak, in that they performed none of their devotions without oaken leaves, as Pliny and those that follow him are of opinion; or from the Dutch *True-wise*, as Goropius Becanus will have it; or from Trutin, a word which with the antient Germans signified God, as Paulus Merula quotes it out of the Gospel of Othfred (though in the Angel's Salutation, in the Magnificat, in Zachariah's Song, and elsewhere, Trutin rather denotes Lord than God; and see whether there does not lie somewhat of the Druid in the name of St. Truien, among the people of Liege, some having exploded St. Drudo);—whencesoever they had their names, these gownmen amongst the Gauls, aye and the Britons too, were the interpreters and guardians of the laws."

Their temples and their altars are still extant, which do them honour as rude architects; the

former are vast assemblages of rough stone, forming imperfect geometrical figures, which certainly required no art to arrange them. But when we observe the enormous masses elevated and placed horizontally on the ends of others standing erect, we are at a loss to conceive how those weights were raised, and why the means used to accomplish it should be the only ray of matured reason discoverable in their conduct. Their altars, sometimes formed on the summits of rugged mountains, are merely marked by small excavations in the unwrought stone; but it is extremely probable that both were originally inclosed by groves of trees, that afforded a deep shade, congenial to all religious rites, however mistaken in other particulars. In those places the Druids conducted their private and public sacrifices, and interpreted omens; but, for the sake of insulted humanity, let us not believe they sacrificed their fellow creatures, and prognosticated future events from inspecting their entrails: this last charge against them exceeds their offerings of thieves and murderers, and sacrificing of their prisoners.

Collier supposes that the Gospel was not preached in England during the reign of Tiberius, and gives very convincing reasons for his opinion; but the research on this head is very unsatisfactory. Gildas, in proposing to give an account of the antient British church, lamented

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the absolute deficiency of records; "if there were any such in Britain," he observes, "they were either burnt by our enemies, or carried beyond sea by the banishment of our countrymen, so that now there was nothing of them to be seen." This author felt nearly satisfied, however, that the Christian faith was introduced between the periods when A. Plautius governed this country under Claudius, and the battle fought by the armies of Boadicea and Suetonius Paulinus; still he was at a loss to discover who accomplished this great and important mission. Many vague conjectures have appeared to illustrate the event; but, as they are contradicted and others substituted, it would be folly to repeat them. I shall not attempt to follow with my conceptions; and yet it seems very possible, that as soon as the doctrines of the Messiah began to obtain credence, deputations might have been sent to every dependency of the Roman state secretly, by which means they acquired a maturity that rendered the operations of the government almost abortive in their suppression. A missionary, or a hundred missionaries, might reach our island in safety, provided they kept within their own breasts their apostolic authority till the proper opportunity of declaring it to the British people. That such were sent is corroborated by Eusebius, who particularly mentions their crossing the ocean to England.

How the Druids received the Christian preachers we are not informed; but it does not require much penetration to imagine: the priests of heathen divinities, who are said to have been governed by ferocious ideas of slaughter, could not feel much remorse or compassion for innovators on their practices and belief; every artifice and every stratagem, and perhaps every species of cruelty, may have been exercised on the apostolic deputies, in return for the mild arguments and teaching of their Divine Master; — however, it is plain they prevailed in the end.

With reference to the part taken by the Romans resident in England, it has been imagined that St. Paul was encouraged to visit us by Pomponia Græcina, wife to A. Plautius, the viceroy of Claudius; and this is supported by Tacitus, who informs us, that this lady was charged with *superstition*, and tried, and acquitted, by her husband. William of Malmsbury says, that St. Stephen arrived in the territories of the Franks after the dispersion of the disciples; where, converting numbers of the inhabitants, he resolved to select twelve of his most approved pupils to undertake the mental emancipation of the British. Joseph of Arimathea happened to be one of the number, who, with his eleven co-adjutors, arrived in the year 63. Arviragus, who then reigned, was rather displeased with the preaching of the Christians; but, unable

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to discover the least impropriety in their conduct, he gave them a small piece of land, where they resided and taught: thus William wished his posterity to suppose the Abbey of Glastonbury was almost of divine foundation; for know, good reader, the site of that abbey was the precise spot where Joseph lived on the King's bounty. Now, the unfortunate part of the business is, that all the Italian historians concur in furnishing decisive reasons for discrediting the whole of this story.

There seems to be little doubt that a King reigned over a portion of England whose name was Lucius, and that he flourished between the years 160 and 200; that he was converted to Christianity seems also to be admitted by the best authors, and that he solicited spiritual assistance from the sovereign Pontiff, then in possession of the keys of St. Peter, appears from these words of Bede: "In the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and his partner in the empire Lucius Verus, when Eleutherius was bishop of Rome, Lucius, a British king, sent a letter to this prelate, desiring his directions to make him a Christian. The holy bishop immediately complied with this pious request; and thus the Britons being brought over to Christianity, continued without warping or disturbance till the reign of the Emperor Dioclesian." There is one difficulty occurs in comparing the various accounts

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of this Monarch, whose particular dominions are not yet accurately ascertained; he is said to have built so many churches that little less than despotic sway throughout England could have accomplished their erection; therefore, the admission of his reigning over *part* of the island only, entirely annihilates our belief that his brother Kings or the Roman Viceroy would permit him to interfere in their jurisdictions so far as to build Westminster Abbey, and other churches in all parts of the country. Selden says, "Howsoever, by injury of time, the memory of this great and illustrious Prince King Lucy hath been embezzled and smuggled; this, upon the credit of the antient writers, appears plainly, that the pitiful fopperies of the Pagans, and the worship of their idol devils, did begin to flag, and within a short time would have given place to the worship of the true God." An interval of eighty years occurs from the time assigned for the decease of Lucius to the Dioclesian persecution; during which, the Christian faith seems to have rather gained than lost ground; but that eventful æra at length arriving, the orders of the Emperor to destroy the churches were fully carried into effect, and numbers of the converted perished by the most detestable acts of cruelty. From that moment England had its martyrs for the true religion, and the blood thus offered at the feet of the Messiah served to cement the survivors together

ther in the bonds of commiseration as well as of faith.

A more favourable period for the Christians was produced by the accession of Constantius Chlorus to the supreme command, who, though he never himself adopted the new religion, his conduct to its professors was mild and tolerant. Constantine the Great firmly believed in the existence of the true God, and consequently did every thing in his power to promote that belief amongst his subjects in every direction. In his reign, bishops were deputed from the British church to the council at Arles; but as only three are mentioned by our historians, it has been supposed that was the whole number then in England; which some authors contradict by asserting, that we had a succession of Bishops here from the first introduction of the true faith. The canons, amounting to twenty-two, framed on this occasion, became the law of the English church. A minute history of religion is no part of the plan of this work; I shall therefore omit the various occurrences in the regulation of discipline, both with respect to the clergy and laity, and the different schisms which took place, even in this very early stage of the new religion, of which the Arian was most obstinate and incurable, nor was the Pelagian much less so.

The custom of going on pilgrimages might be traced to the period when Christianity first flourished

rished in England. The place where the apostles Peter and Paul were deposited after their deaths is by no means so remote as to preclude pious persons from visiting them, and it was perfectly natural they should do so. Like all other pursuits, this kind of piety became fashionable, and consequently the roads hence through the continent to celebrated shrines were crowded for ages with devotees of all sexes, ranks, and professions. The Ritual of the times contained the following exhortation: "Also, ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to Saint Katharine, or to Saint James, or to any other holy place, that God of his grace give them time and space well for to go and to come to the profit of their lives and souls."

Those whose zeal or abilities were so far deficient at later periods as to prevent them from crossing the Channel, had no reason to complain; for, besides the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, we had numbers of valuable relics well worth visiting in all parts of the kingdom.

It appears, that before this æra the island had been subject to sudden descents from the Scots and Picts, who were equally injurious to the Roman colonists and the British descendants of the Kelts, as plundering invaders and enemies to the religion of Christ. A strange and most mistaken remedy for this evil was devised by Vortigern

tigern and his council, who determined to invite the aid of the Saxons to rescue his dominions from the ravages of the enemy. The consequence was fatal in the extreme, as they soon attempted to wrest the sovereignty of the island from the natives, in which they succeeded after a long and dreadful conflict. The use the treacherous Germans made of their power was even more detestable than the origin of their struggle for it: thus between the years 450 and 490, the churches and every kind of religious establishment were destroyed, the priests murdered, and, in short, every description of ruin, drove the inhabitants for shelter into the most inaccessible places, where they could exercise their religion, and wait for better times. Subsequent partial successes on the side of the British enabled them to restore some of their churches, in which they were greatly encouraged by Ambrosius their leader. Little, however, could be done in the midst of war, particularly as the fate of battle often gave the Saxons an opportunity of razing the Christian temples to the ground.

"Upon the declension of piety and justice," says Fleta, "among the Britons, the Saxons being reinforced by several recruits, grew too big for the natives, and seized the sovereignty of the island; and thus having the odds of power in their hands, they sat up their own Heathenism, demolished the Christian churches, and suppressed the

the true worship as far as their dominions reached. And now the abomination of desolation may be said to have invaded the holy place: the Britons are expelled their country, London sacrifices to Diana, and Thorney (Westminster) spends her perfumes upon Apollo; and indeed the whole country is lost as to their faith, and quite sunk in the Heathen idolatry." Collier, who has the above words in his Ecclesiastical History, relates farther, that Christianity was at length driven to Cornwall, Cumberland, and Wales, the only districts in England where the persecuted natives had a foot of territory; and that Sampson Archbishop of York fled with many of his countrymen to Brittany, where a colony had been founded long before through nearly similar circumstances.

Upon a casual view of the subject, it may appear irrelevant to the nature of this work to dwell upon the religion prevailing at successive periods; a little reflection must convince the reader, that the fact is otherwise; for no particular effect on the manners of a people can be more completely accomplished than by any new set of religious opinions. Thus, when the Saxons destroyed the temples and forms of Christian worship, and introduced their own erroneous and absurd ideas of religion, the people of England who believed in the true faith must of necessity have assumed a gloomy restraint, and exhibited a general appearance of despair, united with terror and disgust;

gust; the former arising from the dread of their oppressors resenting every omission of respect to their idols and priests, and the latter from the violence such respect did their feelings. It seems very certain that the priests of the Saxons did not possess a similar degree of power with the Druids; and perhaps their influence in political affairs was limited, though it is probable they sometimes assisted by advice and prognostications. As to the government of themselves, it may be supposed that they superintended particular districts in certain numbers under the direction of a chief priest or council. With respect to their operations in war, we are informed by Tacitus, the priests of the Deity who presided over that detestable portion of human policy, attended armies with their idols, and flagellated the soldiers who were remiss in their duty, and yet they were denied the privileges of military command in other respects. The priestess, on the contrary, was treated with the utmost attention and gallantry, and received every thing but adoration from their votaries.

It is impossible to place much reliance on the accounts transmitted to us of the doctrines of these savages. Had they in the remotest degree resembled perfect ideas of the good effects of moral conduct, and consequent happiness in a future state, the term Savages would have been improper. Had the Saxon and Danish priests originally believed in the immortality of the soul,

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and rejected the doctrine of transmigration, and sedulously taught the people, would it have been practicable for any army of adventurers from the East to have been persuaded that their victorious leader was the God they had long worshiped? This Odin or Wodin might, and no doubt did, suppress all opposition to his power, and, like another Alexander, possibly wished to deify himself; but I should incline to think the adoration paid under this name was addressed to a greater spirit than ever inhabited the body of the chief in question, and resulted from a similar intuitive impulse experienced by all unpolished nations, which certainly do not deify their heroes. The very circumstance of their having a number of subordinate deities, and their connexion with a set of wild and ridiculous ideas, serves to prove, that their minds wandered far beyond the limits of this earth, and finding nothing to rest upon, became confused; in short, if Wodin, the principal God, is thus appropriated, how are we to appropriate his inferior brethren but in the way I have mentioned. The fallacy of attempting to trace authentic genealogies up to Odin, connected with the reveries of the antient Saxons, must therefore be evident upon the least reflection.

The same authorities which enable us to say any thing on this subject tell us, that the divinities of the Saxons were approached with prayer, and celebrated with songs, abounding with adulatory

latory epithets, and those were naturally suited to the properties they affixed to their different idols. If they did not appear to favour their wishes, they vented their disappointment by throwing their weapons into the air, as if intended to reach and penetrate the unpropitious being; at the same time they were by no means deficient in their incitements for favour by offering various descriptions of animals in sacrifice, the blood of which was sprinkled on the people by the priests, who augured from the appearance of the entrails, and burnt the flesh on the altar; captives, slaves, criminals, and even persons of consequence, were on particular and great occasions offered in expiation or solicitation, and copious draughts of extracts from grain were swallowed in honour of the idol. As every other nation under similar circumstances is known to have entertained ideas of the existence of good and evil spirits, the Saxons had their Faul, the source of injury and misfortune.

With respect to the visible representatives of their Gods, the most correct ideas may be formed from the sculpture they have left upon the Christian churches in England. Supposing their idols to be represented in the human shape, we must be aware that their execution of statutes was rude and uncouth to the greatest extreme, even after they were assisted by more enlightened conceptions than the Pagan system suggested; how, therefore,

therefore, are we to credit that they erected temples of incredible grandeur and magnificence during the prevalence of that system. Conjectures are wretched substitutes for authentic facts, and the fact appears clearly to be, that we have no authentic records to guide us with respect to the particular rites of their worship, or the preservation of a holy fire, or the celebration of the various religious festivals. Our best writers on this subject assert, that they offered cakes to their deities in February, which caused them to term this period of the year Sol monath: in September they had other ceremonies, whence it was called Halig monath, or the holy month; November was Blot month, or that for devoting slain cattle to the gods; Geol or Jule was their principal feast, and occurred at our Christmas, in commemoration, according to Henry, of Thor; which festival, Mr. Turner conjectures to have been in honour of the Sun. Bede says, they derived it from the return of that luminary; and it was, besides, the first day of their year.

Sufficient for my purpose has been already offered on the Pagan state of our ancestors, which, though an unpleasing retrospect, is accompanied by the gratifying reflection, that though the British community had every reason to detest their successful invaders, the peasantry had been so completely humanized by the precepts of Christ that the Saxons were insensibly

prevailed

prevailed upon to alter their sentiments respecting them. The way being thus prepared, and the Head of the Church acquainted with the favourable opportunity, Augustine, a monk of singular piety, was deputed to enter Britain as a missionary, for the express purpose of explaining to the Saxons the errors of their idolatrous religion; the date of this important event was 597; and, if we believe the historians who have treated on the subject, Augustine was enabled to baptize many converts the Christmas following his arrival. In the year 601, Mellitus Justus, Paulinus Ruffinianus, and other pious persons, arrived with supplies of vestments, church plate, books, &c. As the faith of the Messiah rapidly gained ground, the minds of the people were so completely separated from their previous partiality to the idols they adored that it was in contemplation to destroy their temples and them together; but, upon consideration, a more politic measure was adopted, by removing the latter, and purifying and consecrating the former.

Judging from the favourable appearances in the reign of Ethelbert, it might have been supposed the Christians had little to apprehend from any secret propensity for Paganism; this, however, was not the case, for on the succession of Eadbald after 616, they discovered, that such a propensity not only existed, but was likely to proceed from the throne and the breast of the King, throughout his dominions; besides, they

found that the three sons of Sebert, King of the East Saxons, were professed idolaters. These unpleasant coincidences rendered it necessary to bend to the approaching persecution in some degree; at the same time, every method was contrived to promote their views, and preserve their faith, by the invention of visions and miracles without number—artifices better calculated to make an impression upon the barbarians of the day than all the persuasions truth and religion suggested.

Repeated disputes and contests followed the partial re-establishment of the Christian faith, through the waverings of Paganism, the obstinacy of opinion, and the ambition of individuals invested with great powers by the see of Rome; with those we have nothing to do, as our object is merely to trace the great and essential changes in the minds of the multitude, effected by particular doctrines. Much of the confusion of this and later periods probably arose from conceding too much to the professors of Idolatry, and by retaining some of the ceremonies and forms of their mode of worship; but the principal source of evil to the church was the excessive dignity the prelates assumed, and the luxury of their living, which being imitated in some measure by the inferior clergy, invited the disapprobation and censure of thinking men, besides the congregating of pious persons in abbeys and convents, where, property

accumulating,

accumulating, the monks either did or were supposed to practise vices by no means suited to the assumed sanctity of their characters. Canons were frequently made for suppressing these deviations from religious propriety, but they had little effect after the moment of their promulgation.

The introduction of paintings and statues to bring to immediate recollection the principal events of religion had been misconceived by the ignorant, who were supposed to pay their adorations to those rather than the unseen Divinity. Well-disposed persons, therefore, wished their removal; this was opposed by others, and serious disputes terminated in favour of the latter. Another source of discord was the disposition of Saints' bodies, and the reprehensible custom of selling real relics and fictitious fragments of bones and garments; in short, the audacity of the clergy in the aggregate could only be equalled by the ignorance and credulity of the multitude.

The Protestants are unquestionably indebted to Wickliffe for the original liberal ideas of religion they have since so happily matured. This primitive Reformer is supposed to have been the descendant of an ancient family in the North of England, and an equal degree of uncertainty exists as to the exact time of his birth; it is ascertained, however, that he was a pupil at Merton College, Oxford, became divinity reader there, and subsequently rector of Lutterworth in Leicester-

shire. Henry de Knyghton, canon of Leicester, a contemporary and not a proselyte to his doctrines, and who cannot consequently be suspected of partiality, said of Wickliffe, that "he was the most eminent doctor of divinity of those times, second to none in philosophy, incomparable for school learning, and transcending most both in subtilty of science and profoundness of wit." These inherent qualities, and his great acquirements, produced an intense habit of thinking, which soon convinced him, that the professors of the Christian religion had degenerated into little better than downright Pagans; and this conviction was in a great degree caused by different writers, who pointed out particular errors without comprehending those of the whole system: some taught him the usurpations of the Popes upon the rights of Kings; others, the baseness of Abbots and Monks in supporting this Supremacy. Abelard, and similar authors, gave him an insight into the true faith respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and he was instructed by Bradwardin in the true nature of sole-justifying faith; and, above all, he obtained from the works of Grosseteste the idea that the Pope became a perfect Antichrist by forbidding the preaching of the Gospel.

It cannot be imagined that a man, feeling as Wickliffe did, could avoid attacking the errors and abuses he witnessed, both by preaching and writing;

writing; and as he included the ambition and avarice of the clergy, he soon became popular, and even gained many eminent persons to his opinions, particularly the Duke of Lancaster; nor was Edward the Third his decided enemy. The prelates and beneficed churchmen were extremely alarmed with this unexpected examination into their tenets and conduct, but immediately adopted decisive measures to suppress the new heresy, as the doctrines of the Reformer were termed; he was, therefore, cited to appear before the prelates and others at St. Paul's, to answer for defection. Wickliffe had the honour to receive the support of the Duke of Lancaster and Sir Henry Percy, Lord Marshal, who attended him into the presence of his censors, where they insisted he should be permitted to sit during his examination; this being resisted by the Bishop of London, a warm dispute occurred, in the course of which the Duke threatened to check the pride of the British prelacy, and they, dreading his resentment, suffered their accuser to escape for that time.

At the commencement of the next reign, that of Richard the Second, the Pope sent a bull to the University of Oxford, reproaching them with still permitting the persevering Protestant to spread his schism, and threatening them with the deprivation of all their privileges and indulgences, if immediate steps were not taken to punish him. This intimation had but little effect, and the

University

University was so well satisfied with Wickliffe, that they were doubtful whether it would not be proper to reject the bull with contempt; the Head of the Church had greater success with the prelates, and they once more summoned Wickliffe before them. At the instant they were proceeding to business, Sir Lewis Clifford made his appearance, and, in the name of the Princess Joan, the King's mother, commanded them to desist, which they did, evidently through a conviction that the temporal interest of the state was fairly on his side, which was further proved by the peaceful death of Wickliffe in the year 1385.

This intrepid Christian had the courage to present several articles of complaint against the abuses of religion to Parliament, which, he was convinced, were so well founded and demonstrable that none but the interested could oppose them. Still the time had not arrived when reflection might conquer prejudice, or the mass of the people be persuaded that anathemas, unsupported by temporal authority, were but mere sounds; hence they submitted to the decision pronounced against his doctrines in 1382; but thousands became Wickliffites, and their tenets descended to their posterity, when they had the term of Lollards, and underwent horrid cruelties and persecutions.

In the same year, a royal mandate was sent to the University of Oxford, to expel all the proselytes

selytes of Wickliffe, and to seize the copies of his book called *Trialogus*; this was repeated in 1395, and accompanied by an order to examine the work just mentioned; which facts serve to shew, that the opinions of Wickliffe were obstinately maintained as far as circumstances would permit; indeed, a spirit of opposition which had been generated in the breasts of the rulers of England many years before against the intolerable encroachments of the see of Rome, began at the period now under notice to assume a more firm and manly appearance, and clearly demonstrated, that many years could not elapse before the manners and habits of the people would undergo a total change.

In the reign of Henry IV. we find the disputes between the Court of England and that of Rome, relating to the government of the Church, far from promising a speedy or amicable termination: the former, relying upon the universal dread of its excommunications and censures, determined not to relax in its pretensions; and the latter, beginning to feel that the penalties of the Church were merely ideal, if temporal concurrence in them was withheld, resolved not to recede.

A statute had been made in the time of Edward III. intended to prevent applications to Rome for appointments to vacant benefices, which might interfere with the rights of the Crown, and the various Patrons of them, and to prohibit the

removal

removal of causes from the British courts of law to the ecclesiastical tribunals either here or on the continent. Had these restrictions been carried into effect in every instance, the power of the Pope must have expired; but this head of the Christian church frequently contrived to counteract the laws in force, by securing the reigning king to his interest; and, having the whole body of the clergy with him, and the free use of their immense riches, he was frequently enabled to escape the provisions of such acts of Parliament as the good sense of that body had contrived to arrest his progress to despotic sway.

The Wickliffites, now termed Lollards, which word is supposed to be derived from *Lolium*, or Tares, alluding to the light the Romanists viewed them in, in the field of religion, had not receded a moment from the attack their enlightened teacher had commenced; and proved themselves a most formidable enemy, not only to the Pope, but the dignified clergy of their own country, who, foreseeing their fate, eagerly seized the advances of Henry IV. to form a coalition with them. Thus united, the Monarch and the Ecclesiastics became too powerful for resistance in the House of Commons, which reluctantly concurred in an act consigning all obstinate Lollards to the flames; one of whom, named William Sautre, was the first that experienced the effects of this diabolical statute.

The

The Commons, deeply regretting the consequences of their own proceedings, and actuated by a sincere desire to emancipate the public from their oppression, thrice addressed the King to deprive the clergy of their temporalities, but without success; nor were they more fortunate in their attempts to procure the repeal of the Act *de Hæreticis comburendis.* So far indeed was the savage Sovereign from relaxing in his Antichristian severity, that he issued an order, dated March 5, 1410, for burning John Badby as a heretic; and a few months after actually gave permission for a cardinal to obtain four English benefices from the Pope, in defiance of the law of Edward III. and the repeated remonstrances of the Commons on the points alrea[illegible] mentioned.

Henry V., though he did honour to the nation by his courage and military talents, was by no means a fit man to succeed at the time he did. When a King is aware that every third person in his realm is attached to any particular set of opinions, it is his duty not to destroy those persons, but to temporise with them. Far from adopting this principle of action, he permitted the Clergy in their first synod after his ascending the throne to devise means for extirpating the Lollards; and as they knew the most effectual method to do so was to begin with their powerful patrons, they selected Sir John Oldcastle, then one of Henry's domestics, of whom they demanded permission

mission to deliver him to the secular power. This request the King denied; but agreed to argue the point with him, which he did, and finding him inflexible, he consigned him to his fate.

In the course of his examination, Sir John gave the archbishops, bishops, and others, such rational and temperate answers as must have disarmed any but furious and insatiable bigots; such, however, never were humanized, and as a final comment on his opinions, they declared him an obstinate heretic, excommunicate, and fit only for the flames, in which he certainly would have perished, had he not effected his escape from the Tower, some suspect through the King's means; for after this event the King received intelligence that Sir John had appeared in St. Giles's fields, London, at the head of 20,000 Lollards, where the courageous Henry immediately advanced to meet him, but found only eighty armed persons, thirty of whom were killed, and many of the remainder made prisoners. This was a fair opportunity for advancing the views of the clergy; and yet the lenity of the Sovereign rendered it abortive, except in the instance of Sir John Oldcastle, who, having been apprehended while Henry was in France, suffered death suspended by a chain over a fierce fire.

Dreadful and detestable as the fact appeared to the Lollards, the martyrdom of Oldcastle confirmed

firmed them in their opposition, and they contrived to introduce many persons into the lower branch of the Legislature, who were ready upon any favourable occasion to promote their views: such was that which offered when Henry, wishing to carry on his war in France, summoned Parliament to grant him supplies; those he received in a way the clergy little suspected, through an address from the Commons once more inviting the Monarch to seize their revenues. Aware of the delicacy of their situation, the prelates and abbots compounded for their possessions, by resigning no less than one hundred and ten alien priories into the King's hands, which saved the remainder for the time.

Little worthy of notice occurred in the succeeding reigns; nor would Henry VIII. have complied with the wish of the numerous Protestants in his dominions, had not the gratification of his own inordinate passions demanded the subversion of papal power within his territories. The public mind had been gradually enlightened by the discovery of printing; but the title of the Defender of the Faith given him by the sovereign Pontiff is a convincing proof, either that the doctrines of the Reformers had not produced conviction with him, or that he suppressed that conviction while he thought it convenient to act in concert with the Court of Rome. Finding the views of the Pope in opposition to his own wishes

as he proceeded in his career of unprincipled tyranny, he formed the grand resolution of denying his supremacy; and hence arose all the acts which constituted the subsequent partial reformation in matters of religion.

Every sincerely good man, who lived at the time this event happened, must have deplored that the errors and abuses of the Roman church had not been corrected through motives of piety and true Christian benevolence, rather than by those both reprehensible and atrocious. This circumstance renders it painful to relate the methods used to make persons recant oaths they had solemnly sworn, and the distresses that thousands endured, by the expulsion of monks and nuns from the totally suppressed monasteries, without noticing the horrible cruelties of hanging and quartering numbers who refused to acquiesce in commands intended to compel the commission of perjury. Were any evidence necessary on a subject so well understood as the present, I might remind the reader, that while this detestable King was hanging men for not acknowledging his supremacy, he was burning the bones, and robbing the shrine of Thomas Becket; on the other hand, putting the laws in force against heretics, and sending Lambert to the flames for erroneous opinions.

To complete the climax of this tyrant's crimes, as far as relates to religion, I need only refer to the six articles of a statute, justly called a bloody

one,

one, which ordained hanging or burning for all those who denied the real presence in the Sacrament, or maintained the necessity for administering it in both kinds, or declared it lawful for priests to marry, or to break the vow of chastity, that private masses were of no service, and that auricular confession was not necessary for salvation. When we reflect how very prevalent the doctrines were which this statute opposed, we may readily conjecture the numbers who fell victims to its provisions. Restricted and persecuted as the Protestants had been, they must have sincerely rejoiced when death terminated the contradictory acts of Henry VIII., particularly as they had every thing to hope from the known sentiments of the Protector, and his infant charge, in their favour. The Romanists were justly alarmed at their situation, and had no other ground for opposing the will of the prevailing party, than pleading the bar of non-age with respect to the King, and the disability of a Regency to effect any change in religion: these were rejected by the government, and a visitation of churches was immediately decreed for the express purpose of abolishing any abuses found to exist in them. The only bishops who endeavoured to prevent the effects of this resolution were Bonner and Gardiner. The Princess Mary, indeed, wrote to the Council in severe terms, but that body soon convinced her it was her duty to observe

observe and obey. The first Parliament of this reign evinced its perfect compliance with the views of the Protector and the young Monarch by repealing the laws against the Lollards, that of the six articles, and confirming the supremacy of the latter; other acts were made which admitted the laity to the full participation of the communion, gave the appointment of bishops to the crown, restrained the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts; and finally the various chantries were suppressed, and their revenues seized.

Having stated these particulars, I shall beg leave to refer the reader for further information to works written expressly on the subject, merely observing, that in, due time the Council confirmed the form of prayer prepared by the Protestant clergy, than which none can be more sublime and excellent. Annexed is an engraving taken from a vignette in wood, affixed to the title of the common prayer-book, published in 1549, representing the King in Council, debating on its merits, which has evidently been sketched by the hand of a perfect master. In dismissing the reign of Edw. VI. we cannot avoid reflecting with pleasure, that not even a Bonner suffered for religion; at the same time we must lament, that Joan Bütcher and a Dutchman perished in the flames for their anabaptist opinions, just then imported from Germany. The contrition and reluctance exhibited by the King when signing the warrant for the

death

death of the former makes us regret his youth at the moment, and convinces us had he reached maturity of years his advisers would have been disappointed.

The death of the virtuous and promising Edward at this critical period of the change in religion naturally depressed the hopes of the Protestants, and elevated those of the Catholics. It is said that Mary faithfully promised to preserve the form of worship, and not to oppose the doctrines introduced in the reign of her brother; but her acts immediately dissolved the visions of happiness caused by this declaration; and those were commenced by her placing Stephen Gardiner in the see of Winchester, and consituting him Lord High Chancellor, of whom it will be sufficient to say, he postponed his dinner-hour, to have the satisfaction of knowing that Latimer and Ridley were consumed by the fire himself had kindled for them. The next decisive step of the Queen was to displace the bishops of London and Durham, and to appoint Bonner and Tunstall to those sees. On the 15th of September, Latimer and Cranmer were condemned; and on the 1st of October, 1553, she received the crown of the realm — the purity of which she immediately sullied, by proclaiming a *general* pardon, with as many *exceptions* in its provisions as completely answered her purposes against the Protestants.

Thus secured in the plenitude of power, she even

even resented the honest proceedings of her judges in the courts of law; and having been informed that Sir James Hales had made a decision violating the supremacy of the pope, she caused him to be imprisoned in the King's Bench, the Compter, and the Fleet; till, despairing of relief, this unhappy man committed suicide. A synod was assembled by her command, in the first year of her reign, which restored the Roman Catholic religion. On the 4th of February, John Rodgers was burnt; and on the 9th, Hooper, bishop of Worcester. On the 16th of October, 1554, Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford; where they had been enticed, under a pretence of arguing the absurd question of the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

After her marriage with Philip of Spain, she ventured to introduce the pope's legate *à latere* into England; by which means his supremacy was at once established. Pole, who held this high office, lost no time in representing to parliament the offences they had committed against the true church, by the several statutes made in favour of the new religion, requiring them to repeal all those acts immediately: the obsequious representatives of the nation obeyed the mandate, declared their readiness to recant their errors, begged for pardon, and were finally absolved. In March, 1555, Mary gave up her claim to the abbey lands seized by her father; and thus commenced

menced the restoration of monasteries, which were in some instances rebuilt; but death terminated this difficult portion of her plans, before any considerable progress had been made. It is barely necessary to mention, that all the married clergy were ejected from their benefices, previous to the order for celebrating mass in every church throughout the kingdom.

In concluding this sketch of the reign of the worthless daughter of Hen. VIII. it may be proper to add, that five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine young females, and two infants, lost their lives by fire, exclusive of a great number of persons who perished in prisons. Fortunately, the princess Elizabeth, heiress of the crown (herself a firm Protestant,) escaped the destruction inflicted on opponents of less consequence. Gardiner endeavoured, by every stratagem, to entangle the future queen; but, aware of the penalty, she eluded his snares; and all that he could effect was her imprisonment. It has, however, been said, a warrant for her execution was procured from some of the council, which failed through the humanity of Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower; who, lamenting her sad fate, applied to Mary, and received an assurance she knew nothing of the circumstance.

Aubrey relates a superstitious dream, in his Miscellanies, which will serve to prove how very nearly suppressed the Protestant religion was in the reign of Philip and Mary. At that period, there was only one congregation in London, which consisted of about three hundred individuals. A person, whose name is not mentioned, acted as deacon, and kept a list of their names. One of the number, strongly affected by the situation of himself and brethren, dreamt that a queen's messenger apprehended the deacon, and seized the list. This dream was repeated a second time, the same night, which induced him to wait on the deacon, who rejected his dream as absurd and superstitious; but, the dreamer persisting, he at length consented to deposit the list in other hands; which was accomplished but a few hours before a messenger actually arrested him.

As the nation had become Roman Catholic through coercion, it may well be imagined the majority of the people joined hand and heart with the new government in restoring the religion established in the reign of Edward VI. As the acts of parliament passed in the time of Elizabeth all tended to one point, it is useless to enter into particulars relating to them; but it may not be amiss to give the sentiments of the author of "Acta Regia" on the frequent changes of religion within a short period, compared to the import-

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ance of the subject, as perfectly coinciding with my own. "Which soever way we turn, we cannot avoid seeing what I have just now mentioned, in some of the four reigns that I have been treating, with regard to religion. The Papists and Protestants had equal reason to complain of the too great power of the parliaments in the reign of Edward VI. The Papists were the only body that felt the inconveniences of it in the reign of Edward VI. The Protestants had their turn in the reign of Mary; and at last, in the reign of Elizabeth, the Papists had reason to wish that the members of parliament had a more limited power. Really 'tis not very strange to find the House of Commons altering their sentiments and maxims, because in every new parliament there are new members, the majority of whom are commonly in the court interest. But what is most surprising is, to find the Upper House (which is not liable to such alterations in its members) subject to the same alteration in its maxims. In the four reigns last mentioned, we find, in the space of about thirty years, the same lords (except a very few who died in that interval) complying with four successive changes in religion, according to the pleasure of the Kings, the Queens, and the House of Commons. I will not venture to guess at the reason of such gross inconstancy; but it is certain, that all these alterations did not proceed from new light."

The latitude given to the publick, by these repeated changes in the doctrines of religion and the forms of worship, induced and invited speculative opinions, which were inculcated and preached by their supporters, in every part of the kingdom: hence arose the various sects now established, and the animosities inseparable from the intercourse of their members. James I. is said to have ascended the throne professing the forms and faith of the Church of England, but secretly entertaining sentiments more than favourable to the religion of his mother, Mary queen of Scots: his hatred to the Puritans was, however, undisguised, and rancorous.

In effecting the great work of the change in religion, parliament contributed, by an act expressive of their conviction that the pope was alike the enemy of God, the queen, and the realm. This declaration, made in the 23d of Elizabeth, was succeeded by another in the 29th, repeating it, and asserting his restless practices to suppress the Christian faith. In her 35th year, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons declared the Queen the true and principal support of all just and religious causes against usurpers, and this island a sanctuary for oppressed Protestants, as well as a bulwark against foreign tyranny; to which they added an expression of their feeling a just sense of the spiritual benefit of the true religion of God planted among them, and possessed

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by the nation. These were supported by many other acts, collaterally promoting the Protestant doctrines. James I, whatever might have been his secret inclination, found himself bound to declare, in 1603, that he could not permit the restitution of the old faith, without betraying himself and his conscience, England and Scotland, and the liberties of the people — who, it will hereafter be seen, were as fully determined to carry their point as the government.

The state of the public mind was by no means calm at any period of his reign, which may be collected from various theological works. The following quotation, from " Horæ Subsecivæ, 1620," is a case in point. Treating of detraction, the author observes : " In the next place, it will not be amiss, by way of example, to shew that by this means the worst causes do always set themselves off, in disgrace of the better; which rule will never fail. One instance I will give. The *Separatists*, or *Sanctified*, as they term themselves, what doctrine have they more frequent, what point more urged, than for the propagation (as they say) of the holy cause? First, with the Pharisee, to magnify themselves, and their own opinions; then, with terms unfit to be heard, talk of ecclesiastical functions, ceremony, and government, with that disdain and reproach, that they graft into their followers such an opinion against them, that they think

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all of a contrary opinion children of perdition, in the state of damnation, sons of Belial, unsanctified, lewd, profane, and ungodly persons."

It would be to me a most unprofitable and disagreeable pursuit to examine into the grounds and causes of the dissensions existing at that time, as it would be ungenerous not to admit that all parties thought themselves in the right, though their conduct did not always prove that they were so. Mrs. Hutchinson, in her memoirs of her husband, explains the extent to which laymen then carried their theological enquiries. He had just married the lady who wrote his life; and, having attained this object, he commenced "the study of school divinity. Having, therefore, gotten into the house with him an excellent scholar in that kind of learning, he for two years made it the whole employment of his time. The gentleman that assisted him, he converted to a right belief in that great point of predestination; he having been before of the Arminian judgement, till, upon the serious examination of both principles, and comparing them with the Scriptures, Mr. Hutchinson convinced him of the truth, and grew so well instructed in this principle that he was able to maintain it against any man. At that time, this great doctrine grew much out of fashion with the prelates, but was generally embraced by all religious and holy persons in the land."

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This extract demonstrates, that Mr. Hutchinson was but one of very many instances in which all the fierce passions of the human soul might be put in force by arguments on points of religious belief. "He was able to maintain his own opinions against any man." So were others; and, not finding all men complying, some zealous people thought themselves authorized to compel their opponents into acquiescence. Thus Mrs. Hutchinson proceeds to say, that the supporters of the Church of England called all persons Puritans "who discountenanced the abominations of those days," and "shewed favour to any godly, honest person. In short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry; whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribbald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath breach, derision of the word of God, and the like; whoever could endure a sermon, modest habit or conversation, or any thing good — all these were Puritans."

Such was the language produced by religious disputes. Can it be wondered that the opposite parties detested each other, and became determined enemies, in the reign of Charles I.?

Without presuming to enter into an examination of the merits of the points at issue between the members of the established church and the

regular

regular and systematic opposers of it, who were governed by a spirit of genuine piety, and argued without vehemence, it may be permitted to state the opinion of contemporaries on those who used the latitude of the times to accomplish purposes decidedly temporal, under the disguise of superior sanctity and holiness. Mrs. Hutchinson has a philippic against them; and I shall give an extract from Proteus Redivivus, to the same purport. "He," says the author, "that can persuade the people, that from an *old sinner* he is become a *new man*, may, under that disguise, cheat with greater liberty; and, by the saint's practice, prove it is lawful for him, as well as other saints, to cheat the wicked. You may know this sort of cattle by these marks: their words and their works do seldom agree. They are infinitely conceited and opinionated of their own perfections, and condemn all others. A lie in their own or a brother's mouth, is truer than truth itself in another man's. They suspect and conclude all men to be wicked but themselves. They begin all their mischiefs in the name of the Lord; and what is unjust in another man's case, is most just in theirs. They will believe none, but the confiding men of their own party.

"In a word, the world is their stage, and they act the devil's part thereon, in the shape of an angel of light—a part that has been acting ever since the world begun, and will not be finished

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to the world's end. They are a people generally subtle, frugal, and wary in their dealing; by which, and their large pretensions to a punctual honesty, they have engrossed a great part of the nation's trade; and, since that equivocation is as common to them as oaths and curses to a losing gamester, he that deals with them has need of more eyes than poets bestow on Argus; for they outwit a Genoese for subtlety, and an Amsterdam Jew may serve as their apprentice, and by their crafty trading can teach him how to make his best advantage. For self is the centre whereunto the lines of all their actions tend; and, like an hedge-hog, wrapped up in his own warm down, turns out bristles to all the world besides."

"These are a parcel of fellows, who beat more on the cushion than the text, and make the pulpit groan more than the hearers. Thus otherwise expressed:

"Sans compliment, the precious man begins,
The suff'ring pulpit groans for Israel's sins;
Sins which in number many though they be,
And crying ones, are yet less loud than he.
Half melted, but more out of breath, he cries,
Not knowing what to say, he wipes his eyes."

Owen Feltham, esq. the author of Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political (the eighth edition of which was published in 1661), speaks of the

Puritans

Puritans in these terms, which were equally calculated to reprove and compliment them: "I find," he observes, "many that are called Puritans, yet few or none that will own the name: whereof the reason is this—that it is, for the most part, held a name of infamy; and is so new, that it hath scarcely yet obtained a definition: nor is it an appellation derived from one man's name, whose tenets we may find digested into a volume; whereby we do much err in the application. It imports a kind of excellency above another, which man (being conscious of his own frail bendings) is ashamed to assume to himself: so that, I believe, there are men which *would be Puritans*, but indeed not any that *are*. One will have him—one that lives religiously, and will not revel it in a short excess. Another, him that separates from our divine assemblies. Another, him that will not swear. Absolutely, to define him, is a work, I think, of difficulty. Some I know that rejoice in the name; but sure they be such as *least understand it*.

"Methinks," he concludes, "the reading of Ecclesiastes should make a Puritan undress his brain, and lay off all those fanatic toys that gingle about his understanding. For my own part, *I think the world hath not better men* than some that suffer under that name; nor withall, more *scelistique villaines*. For, when they are once elated with that pride, they so contemn others,

others, that they infringe the laws of all human society."

Another author, whose labours for the benefit of the community were nearly contemporary with the above, gives a further insight into the manner and doctrines of preachers then prevailing. The worthy Robert Burton attributes one cause of melancholy to the denunciations of the pulpit, founded on the misapplication and misconception of the following and similar passages of Scripture: "Many are called, few are chosen." "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling." "That night two shall be in a bed, one received, the other left." "Strait is the way that leads to Heaven, and few there be that enter therein." "Whom he hath predestinated, he hath chosen." "He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy."—"These, and the like places, terrify the souls of many: election, predestination, reprobation, preposterously conceived, offend divers, with a deal of foolish presumption, curiosity, needless speculation, contemplation, solicitude, wherein they trouble and puzzle themselves about those questions of grace, free will, perseverance, God's secrets: they will know more than is revealed by God in his word; human capacity, or ignorance, can apprehend."

The Catholics of the Roman church he charges most justly with inventing terrors, and at the same time lashes "our indiscreet pastors;" many

of

of whom were not far in the rear, "whilst in their ordinary sermons they speak so much of election, predestination, reprobation *ab æterno*, subtraction of grace, præterition, voluntary permission, &c.; by what signs and tokens they shall discern and try themselves, whether they be God's true children elect, *an sint reprobri, prædestinati*, &c. with such scrupulous points; they still aggravate sin, thunder out God's judgements without respect, intempestively rail at, and pronounce them damned in all auditories, for giving so much to sports and honest recreations, making every small fault and thing indifferent an irremissible offence; they so rent, tear, and wound men's consciences that they are almost mad, and at their wit's ends."

Feltham very forcibly illustrates the mode of preaching in this reign, and during the Interregnum: the manner, according to that author, was extremely defective, and the art of embellishment totally neglected. He was surprised that men could *preach so little*, and *so long* — so long a time, and so *little matter*; and he could not imagine why so exalted a personage as Divinity should be presented to the people in the "*sordid rags of the tongue*." He loved not, nor could the man of judgement admire, those "*cart-rope*" speeches, stretched beyond the scope of memory. It was the practice to complain of drowsiness at a sermon; but a play, of double the length, still excited

excited interest and curiosity. "If we saw Divinity acted," he continues, "the gesture and variety would as much invigilate. The stage feeds both the ear and the eye; and, through the latter sense, the soul drinks deeper draughts. The critick adds, "A *kemb'd* oration will cost both sweat, and the rubbing of the brain; and kemb'd I wish it, not frizzled nor curled. He admires the valour of some men, that before their studies dare ascend the pulpit, and do there take more pains than they have done in their library. But having done this, I wonder not that they there spend sometimes *three hours* but to weary the people into sleep: and this makes some such *fugitive* divines, that, like cowards, they run away from their text."

I have been assured, by a Divine of undoubted veracity, that he has seen large books of notes in short hand, written during these dozing sermons; serving the double purpose of keeping the writer awake, and preserving accidental observations of superior excellence, which have descended to the present possessors from contemporaries of the above preachers.

Several ministers are thus described, by a friend of Mr. Ralph Robinson's, in his elegiac strains upon that gentleman's death. The lines are to be found in Clark's Lives.

"God's gifts are various: some for learning call,
As Anakims, great Scholars, and that's all;

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No Preachers, some in preaching quick, deep, full,
Lively, and piercing; in prayer cool, flat, dull.
Some have the keys of knowledge, some the keys
Of hearts and Heaven too; with great skill and ease
They open all: these are men, men of God,
As erst Eliah, or Moses with his rod.
Such was our Robinson, a man of skill,
To open God's whole counsel, and his will.
He open'd hearts by preaching, and by prayer
He open'd Heaven; there gain'd he first God's ear,
His favour next, then heart, his presence now;
Glory from grace, grace doth from prayer flow.
Moses grows faint, when Hur and Aaron fail'd
Him on both hands, then Amelech prevail'd.
London grows faint, since two Junes have pull'd down
Two praying pillars, chief jewels in her crown.
Whittaker's gone, and Robinson gone; how,
How are the mighty fall'n, and we brought low!
The one Elijah was, Elisha th' other,
He a grave father was, this a dear brother.
Two Marys * widows left, Barnsby the last
Year's June remembers, Woolnoth June now past.
But Barnsby hath a Whittaker again,
Another Robinson may Woolnoth gain."

* Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey; Mary Woolnoth.

Now

Now I am upon this subject, it may not be improper to give a few further illustrations of the havock made upon the senses by a misconception of the Scriptures, in supposing them rather so many engines of terror than persuasives directed to the vicious; as I believe myself tolerably safe in saying, all the denunciations they contain are aimed solely at the incorrigibly wicked, I shall make no comments on the preceding quotations; neither do I wish to be understood to offer the following for any other purpose than to illustrate the manners and prejudices of the metropolis, under this head. Thomas Peacock, B. D. called himself "a damnable wretch," declaring he had often eaten like a beast; and that, in his visitation, he saw before his "face those dishes of meat wherewith he clogged his stomach." During the fit of despondency which had prompted the above expressions, he said he could not put his trust in God "more than a horse," or desired more to believe "than a horse-shoe." He became reconciled principally through the exertions of Dr. Aiery and Mr. Dod, beseeching the Divinity that he might taste "one dram" of his grace. The strange publication whence these sentences were extracted appeared in 1646, and was called—"The last Conflicts and Death of Mr. Thomas Peacock."

"Richard Rothwell, that bold divine, that often encountered the devil with a courage extraordinary,"

ordinary," as Mr. Turner expresses it, was yet strangely "buffeted and handled by him," tempting him strongly to blaspheme. Mr. Timothy Rogers underwent many of the pangs previously mentioned; and, at the same time, he forcibly exposes the mischievous tendency of dreading the Author of all things as a tyrant, inexorable and implacable. "I dare not (says the mourning person) look up to heaven, for there I see how great a God I have against me; I dare not look into his word, for there I see all his threats, as so many barbed arrows, to strike me to the heart; I dare not look into the grave, because thence I am like to have a doleful resurrection."

That these fancies originated from the incessant reading of the Scriptures, at all times and on all occasions, will appear from the circumstance, that they found their way into the House of Commons; where one member, particularly, was in the constant habit of consulting them upon every political question, as we are informed by Turner, in his "Remarkable Providences." Nathaniel, the brother of the celebrated Cotton Mather, was daily "digging in the sacred mines." John Machin was so wedded to them, that he fell into a habit of recording his last thoughts on sleeping, and on the first moment of his waking, and usually they were some "precious Scripture" or other. He did constantly, in a

morning

morning, pitch upon some verse, which he would endeavour to diffuse into his heart, ever unwilling to leave it, till he had sucked some virtue from it. He was "chewing" by meditation the 119th Psalm, at the time of his sickness, daily "squeezing" the virtue of one verse thereof into his soul, as appears by his diary. Do not, for your lives (says the Rev. Mr. Burgess, in his sermon, in the last morning exercise), ever neglect reading the Scriptures; take some portion of God's word, as daily as you eat of his bread. 'Tis very honourably that I do remember a poor soul, who sometimes burned the thatch of her house, to read her Bible by the light of it."

Latimer made the best possible use of the New Testament, when he sent it to Henry VIII. for a New Year's gift, accompanied by this inscription: "Marriage is honourable among all men, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." The quotation was appropriate, and more pointed than a sermon of an hundred pages could have been; and the reason is obvious—a man of sense and discrimination made the selection.

Unfortunately, not one-tenth of the readers of the Old and New Testaments are sensible of their precise situation: they resemble the person, slightly indisposed, who looks for remedies in Buchan's Family Medicine—confused, he feels all his symptoms correspond with those in the

book; and he prescribes, till he kills himself. He that has first attained a correct mode of thinking, may read the Scriptures with incredible advantage to his future life; but the beautiful imagery of the East, and the peculiar situation of those to whom they were primarily addressed, must be well understood, to prevent the errors we have just cited. We cannot suppose that the persons whose despair is quoted, had committed crimes commensurate with their exclamations—quite the reverse.

The extreme length of sermons was most remarkable at this period: how the voice or the mind were brought to bear such exertion, is inexplicable to a modern auditor; but the strong enthusiasm of the times affords a solution, as both the preacher and the hearer thought a full exertion of the faculties constantly necessary to attain perfection in religion. "A Perfect Journal of the Daily Proceedings and Transactions in that memorable Parliament, begun at Westminster, November 3, 1640," enables me to give an authentic illustration of this trait of the age.

"November, 17th day. Tuesday was the fast day, which was kept piously and devoutly. Dr. Burgess and Master Marshall preached before the House of Commons, at *least seven hours betwixt them*, upon Jerem. l. 5. and 2 Chron. ii. 3. Before the Lords of the Upper House preached the bishop of Carlisle, upon Hosea ix. 7. and

bishop

bishop Morton. As the second service was in reading at the communion table, a psalm was sung, which put by the service; and which was, and is much marvelled at by men of moderate spirits. The bishop of Lincoln was brought into the abbey by six lords, and did read service before the Lords."

The bill for suppressing Prelacy, the inevitable consequence of the disputes and doctrines already noticed, was debated in the Parliament with great warmth, on Friday, June 11, 1641; the arguments commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued till night, which, at that season of the year, must have been till near eleven. At length, the preamble of the bill was voted to the following purport: "That the government of the church of England, by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Archdeacons, and others their ecclesiastical officers, have been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect Reformation and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the civil government of the kingdom." On this occasion, the authority of that most antient parchment MS copy of the Bible remaining in his Majesty's library at St. James's, being all written in great capital Greek letters, was vouched and asserted by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in a speech delivered by him in the morning, by which it infallibly appeareth, that the styling of Timothy the first

Bishop of Ephesus, and Titus the first Bishop of Crete, are but the bold and spurious additions of some Eastern bishop or monk to the postscripts of those epistles of St. Paul, at least 500 years after Christ. The postscripts of the said epistles in that antient MS., agreeing in the main with the Syriac Testament, are only thus: The first to Timothy, written from Laodicea; the second to Timothy, written from Laodicea; to Titus, written from Nicopolis. This rare MS. was sent to his Majesty that now is, by Cyrillus, then Patriarch of Alexandria, in which the first letter stands A. for πρώτη, and the second letter B. δευτέρη." Such was the general tendency of the arguments in favour of the measure which it is not necessary to examine, as the fact of the abolition is all that is required in a work of this nature. Under these circumstances, and to explain subsequent occurrences, it may not be improper to give the speech of William Thomas, on which every class of readers will please to comment for themselves *.

" I have heretofore delivered the reasons that induced me to yield my several votes touching the corruption and unsoundness of the present Episcopacy and church government; so far their unlawfulness of their intermeddling in secular affairs, and using civil power; as also the harm

* Perfect Journall, 1641.

and

and noxiousness of their sitting, as members in the Lord's House, and Judges in that most honourable and highCourt:—Now, I crave leave to do the like in shewing the reasons of my vote concerning Deans, and their office: I say, that my opinion then was, and now is, that as the office is unnecessary, themselves useless, so the subsistence of the one, and continuance of the other, needless; nay, rather as I will declare, most hurtfull; therefore may be easily spared; nay, rather ought to be abolished: my reasons are these, that the office of Deans doth neither tend or conduce, as some have alledged, to the honour of God, the propagation of piety, the advancement of learning or benefit of the common weal; but *è contrà*, that they occasion the dishonour and disservice of God, the hindrance, if not destruction, of piety, the suppression and discouragement of learning and learned men, and the detriment and prejudice of church and common weal; this, I conceive, I shall make most apparent, if time and your patience will permit. But first, I humbly crave leave, and I think it will not be impertinent, to declare what Deans were originally in their first birth; secondly, what in their increase and further growth; and lastly, their present condition, being at their full, and, as I think, at their final period.

"As to their original, it is not to be denied but themselves and office are of great antiquity,

St.

St. Augustine declaring both; but I do not say that it is an antient office in the church, but what officers Deans then were, be pleased to hear from St. Augustine's own delivery in his book *De moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ;* if that book, as also that of *Monachorum* be his, which Erasmus and others have doubted. 'The monks,' saith he, 'for their more retiredness and better contemplation, appointed officers, which they called *Decanos;* the office of them, and why they were so called, he delivereth in these words, as near as I can remember: (Here this gentleman quoted the passage.) Here we see the office of Deans in St. Augustine's time, antiquity sufficient, but not antiquity for being officers of the church; therefore they do not rightly plead antiquity as to the point now controverted, the question being whether the office, as now it is exercised, be the same that it was then; sure they shall find it not only different, but in a manner quite contrary; they are deceived that urge it, but they are to know, that this judicious house is able to discern and distinguish a counterfeit face of antiquity from the true, and in vain do they (with the gib) labour to deceive us with old sacks, old shoes, old garments, old boots, and old bread that is dry and mouldy; therefore to no purpose, and causeless, do they charge us to affect novelty, and to offer to take away church governors and government. What these men, I mean Deans, were originally,

originally, we see; how they came to be Presbyters, and of the Ministers, and for what cause, I hall hereafter declare; but we may not think this charging of us as innovators strange, when as Christ himself had his doctrine censured as new: 'What doctrine is this?' saith the Jews; Mark, i. 17. We are not then to expect that we shall escape the like censure of innovating. The servant is not above his lord, nor the disciple above his master; and indeed so St. Paul found it, for the Grecians made the same demand to him — 'May we,' say they, 'know what this new doctrine is whereof thou speakest?' Acts, xvii. But let us *liberare animas nostras; conscientiæ satisfaciemus, nihil in famam laboremus, consentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod traditum.*

" But to return where I left, granting the name and office, we find them to be only caterers or stewards, to provide food and raiment for the monks; whose garments, as they were not costly, so was not their fare dainty, being but bread and water, as witnesseth St. Jerome, Athanasius, Theodoret, and others. And Surius in the life of Pachonius, written 1200 years since, testifieth the same. To have the like employment now I neither deny nor envy them. Well now, let us see how they increased in authority, and came to be accounted officers of great dignity; then thus, when for the austerity of their lives, and opinion of their sanctity, princes and others did

bestow

bestow lands and revenues upon the monks, then their preposits, the Deans, did partake of their honours and possessions, and then began the corruption and poisoning of them. *Tunc venerum infunditum in Decan, religio peperit divitias et filia devoravit matrem.* Answerable whereto is that of St. Jerome, *In vitas Patrum:* since holy church increased in possessions, it decreased in virtues; the like hath St. Bernard and many other. Thus we see that the spring that was clear in the barren mountains, descending down to the richer vallies, becomes thick and muddy, and at last is swallowed by the brinish ocean; *salsum per dulces imbibit Æquor aquas.* But to deliver it in the words of an honourable author: 'Time,' saith he, 'is most truly compared to a stream that conveyeth down fresh and pure water into the salt sea of corruption, which environeth all human actions, and therefore if a man shall not by his industry, virtue, and policy, as it were with the oar, row against the stream and inclination of time, all institutions and ordinances, be they never so pure, will corrupt and degenerate; which we shall see verified in Deans and their officers. For now being endowed with great possessions, it was ordained they should be chosen out of the Presbytery to that place; *Ne sit Decanum nisi Presbyter,* as I find in St. Bernard. Well, did they rest in this state and condition? No, they must be Civil Magistrates, Chancellors

or

or Keepers of the Seal, Lord Treasurers, Privy Counsellors; or what have they not of lay offices, dignities, and titles? I will not trouble you with enumeration of particular Deans, I will only cite one, though, if the time permitted, I might cite twenty-one; and that is a Dean of Paul's, about anno 1197, who was made Lord Treasurer, who, carrying that office, quickly hoarded up a great treasure; at last, falling into a deadly disease past recovery, he was exhorted by the Bishops and great men to receive the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he trembling at refused to do; whereupon the King admonished and commanded him to do it; he promised him thereupon to do it the next day. Being admonished to make his will, he commanded all to avoid the room but one scribe, who, beginning to write his will in the accustomed forms, 'In the name of the Father, of the Son,' &c. The Dean perceiving it, commanded him in a rage to blot it out, and these words only to be written: 'I bequeath all my goods to my lord the King, my body to the grave, and my soul to the devils;' which being uttered, he gave up the ghost. The King hereupon commanded his carcass to be carried into a cart, and drowned in the river. Good G—, what a change is this! from being humble servants to poor monks, to become proud prelates, peers to princes. *Quantum mutati ab illis, nunc Cigni qui modo Corvi;* they now forsake their *templa paupertatis,*

paupertatis, et templa pietatis, tanquam noxia numina, and only allowed and make choice of *templa honoris et templa fortunæ.* They then took care for the poor monastery, but now poorly care for the ministry, and to speak no less truth than plainly, they do either just nothing, or, what is worse, nothing that is just. But not to trace them farther, let us examine what their present office is, which we find so honoured and dignified.

" In the constitutions of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. thus I read, (the speaker then repeated the whole chapter suited to his observations,) because he would deal fairly. Afterwards, in the ninth chapter, I read preaching to be part of their duty; *Concionem habeat Decanus in ecclesia cathedrali singulis diebus dominicis.* Thus their office is declared to be these particulars following: To rule and order the church, and to look to the repairs and for the decoration thereof, as is also elsewhere enjoined; to preserve discipline and holy rites; to be adjuments or assistants to the Bishops in cathedrals, as be the Archdeacons abroad; part of which assistance is, as seemeth, to preach for them; but the Bishops will excuse them that service as too painful, nay, forbid it, as too dangerous. But, though they will not busy themselves in preaching, yet have they leisure to be inventive and operative in poor beggarly toys and trifles, which neither bring honour to God

nor

nor good to the church and people. Their preaching and godly life did antiently win the people's hearts to love God, and them as his ministers, whom they received as angels of God, ambassadors from Heaven. Humility, piety, and industry, laid the foundation of all those magnificent structures, dignities, titles, places, revenues, and privileges, wherewith the churchmen were antiently endowed; what hath, or is likely to waste and demolish them, is easy to conjecture; King James hath delivered it in these words: 'The natural sickness that hath ever troubled and been the decay of all churches since the beginning of the world, hath been pride, ambition, and avarice; and these infirmities wrought the overthrow of the popish church in this country and divers others; but the reformation of religion in Scotland was extraordinarily wrought by God, though many things were inordinately done by such as blindly were doing the work of God.' Thus far that wise and religious prince.

"But, lest I should forget a principal part of the office, church music, it shall have here the first place; the rather for that as I read the first coming in thereof was to usher Antichrist; for I do find in my reading that A. D. 666, the year that was designed or computed for the coming of Antichrist, Vitalian, Bishop of Rome, brought into the church singing of service, and the use of organs, &c., as we read in Plat. Baleus and others,

others, in the life of Vitalian; who, therefore, was called the Musical Pope; although at that time there was greater occasion; the Lombards having entered and wasted Italy, and therefore fasting and praying had been more proper than music and melodious singing. Hereupon, saith some authors, ignorance arose among the people, lulled as it were asleep by the confused noises of many voices. This carried colour of advancing devotion, although it was no better, as the case then stood, than the altar erected to the unknown God. Hereby the key of knowledge was hid. When the common people understood not what was sung, and the heat of zeal was exhausted in men of understanding, whose ears were tickled but hearts not touched, whilst, as St. Augustine complaineth of himself, so much were more moved by the sweetness of the song, than by the sense of the matter which was sung unto them, working their bane, like the deadly touch of the aspis, in a tickling delight, or as the soft touch of the hyena, which doth infatuate and lull asleep, and then devoureth; if service in the Latin or unknown tongue, whereof the simple people understood somewhat, was justly censured, certainly this manner of singing psalms and service, whereof the most learned can understand nothing, is to be condemned. I dislike not singing, though by music of organs and other instruments, but that I wish that which is sung may be understood; and

as

as Justinian the Emperor commanded all bishops and priests, to celebrate prayer with a loud and clear voice, *non tacito modo*, that the minds of the hearers might be stirred up with more devotion to express the praises of God, so wish I that service and psalms may be so read and sung, that they may be understood, and so edify the mind as well as please the ear. Now am I to declare, that this office doth neither tend to the honour of God, the propagation of piety, the advancement of learning, or benefit of the common weal; but to the contrary, as I have declared, rather to the dishonour."

The tendency of the speech of Mr. Thomas, and the approbation of its arguments, will appear in the declaration of the Commons in Parliament, made Sept. 9th, 1641, in these words: "Whereas divers innovations in or about the worship of God have been lately practised in this kingdom, by enjoining some things and prohibiting others, without warrant of law, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesty's subjects. For the suppressing of such innovations, and for preservation of the public peace, it is this day ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled, that the church-wardens of every parish church and chapel respectively, do forthwith remove the communion-table from the East end of the church, chapel, or chancel, into some other convenient place; and that they take away the rails,

rails, and level the chancels, as heretofore they were, before the late innovations; that all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary, shall be taken away and abolished, and that all tapers, candlesticks, and basins, be removed from the communion-table.

"That all corporal bowing at the name JESUS, or towards the East end of the church, chapel, or chancel, or towards the communion-table, be henceforth foreborn.

"That the orders aforesaid be observed in all the several cathedral churches of this kingdom, and all the collegiate churches or chapels in the two Universities, or any other part of the kingdom, and in the Temple church, and the chapels of the other Inns of Court, by the Deans of the said cathedral churches, by the Vice-Chancellor of the said Universities, and by the heads and governors of the several colleges and halls aforesaid, and by the benchers and readers in the said Inns of Court respectively.

"That the Lord's day shall be duly observed and sanctified: all dancing, or other sports, either before or after divine service, be forborn and restrained; and that the preaching of God's word be permitted in the afternoon in the several churches and chapels of this kingdom, and that ministers and preachers be encouraged thereunto."

The Lords did not agree to this declaration, and

and ordered, that divine service should be performed as by previous laws established; which order had been made originally January 16, 1640, and was renewed upon this occasion. Almost immediately after the subversion of the antient form of worship, we find the ensuing paragraph in the Mercurius Aulicus: "News also came this day, that upon Sunday last the soldiers who have the guard of Lambeth-house (of late converted into a prison), at the instigation of Doctor Layton, the head jailor, and his zealous wife, brake into the church in time of divine service with their muskets charged and other weapons, where they tore the Common-Prayer Book in pieces, pulled the surplus off the minister's back, not without danger to his person; Layton scoffing the good people at their prayers, saying, 'Make an end of your pottage,' the red coats following him up to the communion-table, with their tobacco-pipes in their mouths, and committing many such unspeakable outrages, to the great affrightment of the people there assembled, who doubtless had participated of the mischief also, if the watermen had not come to their rescue. Nor was this insolency composed but with the death of two men, who were most barbarously murdered and the hurt of many; Layton himself escaping very narrowly, who was very likely to have been killed by one of the watermen, had not the violence of the blow been borne off by a stander by,

and

and by that accident the wretch reserved to a more exemplary punishment."

Another paragraph, inserted in the same publication, June 13, relates a circumstance so detestable in its nature, and disgraceful to the perpetrators, that I am willing to hope it was not founded in fact; of that we have no opportunity of judging; but if we reject every thing we find in old periodical papers, because partisans on either side refuse their assent to that which bears against them, there is an end to all research. "It was advertised from London that, upon Thursday last, a party of horse was sent out of the city, who, in their return, marched the streets in great pomp and triumph; first, four in buff coats; next, four in surplices, with the book of Common-Prayer in their hands, singing in derision thereof, and tearing it leaf by leaf, and putting every leaf to their posteriors, with great scorn and laughter, to the exceeding just offence of all honest men: which I should not hastily believe, if they had not certified it who saw it done."

Such is said to have been the conduct of the Reformers of Religion. We will next turn to the opposite side of the question, and permit Anti-Aulicus to give his account of the state of the established church, that I may not incur the charge of partiality on a subject far beyond our personal knowledge. "The Parliament, says Anti-Aulicus, (though his insolence be pleased to call

call them by another name) have reformed the clergy and churches," he says, "by persecuting the one, and defacing the other." Methinks, since he hath so good information from London, he cannot but know, that the persecution of the ministers he speaks of, were some for common drunkenness, looseness of life, adultery, yea, b——, some for seditious and rebellious provocations of the people against those they have chosen; some because they preached popery and superstition into the flexible people's hearts; and others, because they preach not at all, but, receiving the profits, neglected the duties for which they were allotted; as if they had been born only to eat, drink, and play. If to punish such crimes, so gently too, as only by a removal of the delinquents, and taking from them the opportunity of doing more mischief, be to persecute; thieves and murderers, by the same rule, are not justly punished, but persecuted: the assizes and sentences of the law may as well be called persecution.

"And then for his defacing of churches; that is, in our English, their famous organs at Paul's (as he reverently calls them); are taken down, their altars, crucifixes, and devout candlesticks, are removed. The churches in England in Edward VIth's time were just so defaced when they were cleared from the trumpery of Popery. Their superstitious pictures, glass windows, and all other

resemblances of and approaches to Popery, are expelled our church; the pompous outside worship, pleasing only to the inconsiderate sort of men, and such as lived by it, is discountenanced, and all other gayish ceremonies, which the Apostles neither had nor gave command for."

I shall conclude this rough outline of the state of religious affairs previous to the Restoration by an extract from the Kingdom's Weekly Post of Dec. 28, 1643, and with a second from an author well known to the public he addressed; at the same time congratulating myself on the escape I have accomplished from entering into any disquisition on particular opinions, or even mentioning those which distinguish one sect from another.

"Monday, Dec. 25.—This being Christmas day, as it is called, was a day of grand difference in the judgment of some; and in the city of London some opened their shops, but to stop mutinying they were shut up again; yet do very few understand what the difference is, that is now embraced in the judgments of those who desire the reformation from Popish innovation; but to give such farther satisfaction herein, it is the opinion of those, that it is a day wherein it is very fit for the people of God to congregate in the church to hear the word of God preached, but not a holiday, or such a day as is of absolute necessity

to

to be kept holy; it is a day wherein it is no sin for a man to follow his calling in; and we must not by a popish innovation adore the day."

Thomas Reeve, B. D. is an example of the peculiar bias of the æra we have just dismissed. This gentleman, in his "God's plea for Nineveh," gives several instances of the immediate efficacy of prayer, which the reader will accept in his own words. "The Lady Capell of Oxsted lay speechless a long time, and by fervent prayer was restored to speech, and died in a most ravishing manner. Mr. Gale in St. John's street, distracted and despairing, by prayer recovered his senses, and died calmly, peaceably, and christianly. A gentleman in Bishop's court, in Gray's Inn lane, visited and assaulted by the devil, by prayer, within the space of three days, was delivered from that obsession. Mr. Barnes, in Fountain alley, in Holborn, having, for half a year almost, *starch* (sometimes hot, sometimes cold) rained through his tiled house into his kitchen, and nothing seen in the upper rooms or *planchers*, but only in the lower rooms, and that divers times under pots and other vessels, where it was impossible in man's apprehension that any thing should come, for the outsides were untouched, which caused an high affrightment in the householders, that he and his family were ready to leave the house; yet by prayer, in a short time, this strange and unheard-of accident ceased."

The same pious divine, though decidedly tinctured by the prevailing mode of preaching, describes the state of the publick mind in a very forcible manner. "Here," he observes, "are many strange opinions amongst us; men have left the living spring, and sipped at the broken cisterns; they have cast away the tried gold, and filled their purses with nothing but alchemy; they have forsaken the chaste spouse, and gone to bed with concubines; they are full of nothing but fictitious doctrines, and commentitious; every quack salver can here sell his balsams, and every merchant of conceptions hath vent for his sophisticated wares. These petty chapmen do swarm up and down in the streets: this epidemical disease hath dispersed itself far and nigh in the nation. According to the number of thy cities are the number of thy gods; every corporation hath a new brotherhood of believers, every pulpit new coin coming just out of the mint, every secret meeting a secret rule of faith, and a separate form of worship.

"Oh, what variety of saviours have we! Every man is for his particular redeemer, his distinct messenger of the covenant. Here is Christ, and there is Christ. Now, who shall calm this troubled sea, raise up these ruins, new-joint these dislocated bones, reduce these mutineers? There is nothing but one thing (which I despair ever almost to behold), namely, a free general conference

ference to effect this. Did not our Saviour thus confute the Pharisees, the Apostles, the Gentiles, the Fathers of the Church, the Marcionites, Manichees, Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, Pelagians, and all the dangerous heresies of their times? Yes, humour seduced them, and argument reclaimed them."

An old print of the interior of a place of worship, engraved during the interregnum, which I have seen, represents the congregation covered, part of the people wearing high-crowned narrow-brimmed hats, and others black caps. This is sufficient authority that such was the practice of the times without further proof. After the Restoration, *external* reverence was once more paid to the Divinity; and the clergy, in some instances at least, determined to enforce the Canons, which is confirmed by a trial that took place in Feb. 1680-1. A minister observed a person sitting during the sermon with his hat on, and sent the sexton to take it off; he then preferred a complaint against the offender for disturbing him during the time he was preaching; the magistrate, acquiescing in the spirit of the statute expressly applying to the case, committed the man to prison, who brought an action against the magistrate, and the Jury gave him £.50 damages, declaring that the minister rather disturbed the gentleman.

At length the last grand change took place, by the

the restoration of monarchy and the established church; which was followed by the general expulsion of all ministers who would not conform to the renewed order of church discipline. We feel happy in reflecting that no lives were required, as the price of tenacity in opinion; though it is impossible not to lament, that so many valuable men were lost to the community, in the aggregate, by the Bartholomew Act.

I shall now mention a few of the measures taken by the party in power to maintain the ascendancy of the present form of church government. In 1666, the king decreed the banishment of all Roman Catholic priests and Jesuits, and expressed his determination to put the laws in force against recusants. The time limited for the departure of the former was fixed for the 10th of December: an exception, however, was made for the foreign priests of the queen mother and queen consort. In the succeeding year, he forbade all his subjects from hearing mass at the chapels of his family, and those of the ambassadors. In March, 1667, the London Gazette stated, that his Majesty, complying with the address of the Commons in parliament assembled, resolved in council, "That a proclamation be issued, for enforcing the law against Conventicles, and for preventing the unlawful assemblies of Papists and Non-conformists; and upon information that divers persons, in several parts of this realm,

realm, abusing the clemency which hath been used towards persons not conforming to the worship and government established in the Church of England (even whilst it was under consideration to find out a way for the better union of his Protestant subjects), have of late frequently and openly, in great numbers, and to the great disturbance of the peace, held unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles:" he announces his intention of requiring all his civil officers to enforce the statutes provided in this case.

The year 1669 was remarkable for an order to the above purpose, with the addition that the magistrates were to proceed against the preacher, according to an act of the 17th Charles II. for restraining Non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations.

The following notice, published in the London Gazette, June 13, 1670, will afford an opportunity of judging to what extent suppression had been carried at that time. "We are commanded hereby to give notice, that the places under named, of late made use of for Conventicles and unlawful Assemblies, are now, by his Majesty's particular command in council, appointed to be used every Lord's Day for celebrating divine worship, and preaching the word of God, by approved Orthodox Ministers, thereto to be appointed by the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London; to begin

on

on the next Lord's day, and so to continue each Lord's day, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the parishes near adjoining, respectively, where the parish churches have been consumed by the fire.

" In Fisher's-folly, in Bishopsgate-street — a convenient place, with two galleries, pews, and seats.

" In Hand-alley, in Bishopsgate-street—a large room, purposely built for a meeting-house, with three galleries, thirty large pews, and many benches and forms, known by the name of Vincent's congregation.

" In St. Michael's-lane—a large room, with two galleries, and thirty-nine forms.

" In Mugwell-street—Mr. Doolittle's meeting-house, built of brick, with three galleries, full of large pews; and thirty-eight large pews below, with locks and keys to them, besides benches and forms.

" The *Cockpit*, in Jewin-street—a meeting-house of one Grimes, many pews, forms, and benches.

" In Blackfriars—Mr. Wood's meeting-house: four rooms, opening into one another, with lattice partitions; each room conveniently fitted with benches and forms.

" In Salisbury-court — four rooms, opening into one another, in the possession of John Foule, a schoolmaster.

" In

" In New-street, within Shoe-lane—four rooms, opening into one another, with seventeen pews, and divers benches, in the possession of Mrs. Turner."

Another proclamation for the banishment of priests appeared in 1671; and in 1673, all Popish Recusants, and those reputed such, were forbid to enter the palace or park of St. James, or the precincts of Whitehall.

A proclamation to the following purport appeared in 1678. The king declared he had received information, that the Papists of London were in the habit of openly and constantly attending the Queen's chapel, and the houses of the different ambassadors, to hear mass; that the latter suffered English, Irish, and Scotch priests, to officiate at that species of worship; and that sermons were preached there, and at the chapels of their respective nations, in the English language. All these acts being positively forbid by the statutes of the country, he resolved they should be strictly complied with in future: for this purpose he commanded, that no other than the Queen's own and allowed servants should attend her chapel. Careful not to invade the privileges of the envoys at his court, he did not forbid any person to enter their mansions; but he ordained that messengers of the chamber, or other officers duly appointed, should be stationed in the avenues leading to the residences in question,

tion, where they were to observe those who entered them; and, upon their return, they were to apprehend such as were supposed to be British subjects, and convey them to the next justice of the peace for examination and punishment. This proclamation is concluded by a very spirited explanation of the King's resolution not to violate the rights of ambassadors, and his determination not to suffer them to act in opposition to the government of the country. The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and the secretaries of state, were charged with the execution of the above provisions.

Another mandate, to enforce the statute of 27th Elizabeth, appeared in the next month, which required the return of all young persons from foreign Roman Catholic seminaries, promising pardon to those who immediately complied.

A third, dated Feb. 6, 1678, complained that the various proclamations issued on this subject were not enforced by many magistrates; who were ordered to be removed by the lord chancellor, and more faithful officers of justice appointed in their places.

On the 6th of May, 1679, a proclamation was published, declaring, that, in defiance of several acts of parliament, and of the proclamations previously issued, numbers of real and reputed Papists remained in London; who were commanded to leave the city, and all places within ten miles

of

of it, for six months; and, in order that no evasion should take effect, the King revoked all licences granted by members of the privy council, at the same time requiring the civil officers of the districts within that compass to enquire for and discover all offenders against this ordinance. "Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to any person or persons who, being formerly of the Popish religion, have fully conformed to the Protestant religion, in such manner as is by law appointed; nor, from the time of their respective conformity, to such as shall hereafter in like manner conform themselves."

This and similar acts of severity caused the Roman Catholics to enter into schemes of diabolical revenge. Discoveries were, or were affected to be made of plans to set the city on fire; and the Papists were accused of causing nine-tenths of the conflagrations which occurred in London: in one case, a positive charge was preferred against Morrice Gifford (a priest) and others—for the apprehension of whom the king issued a proclamation, offering a reward and his pardon, under certain conditions usual on such occasions.

The House of Commons having addressed the king, stating they had received strong proofs of the existence of a plot to deprive him of his throne and life, renders it every way probable, that the trials and executions in the reign of Charles

Charles II. were unavoidable, and actually secured to us the blessings of a Protestant government, united with the last grand effort of the nation in the expulsion of his successor.

As a further illustration of the extent to which the system of suppression was carried, I shall refer the reader to the ensuing advertisement, published March 2, 1681–2. "At the shop of John Bellinger, in Clifford's-inn-lane, in Fleet-street, are to be had blank warrants to chief constables, to give notice to the churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and petty constables, that they appear, at such time and place therein to be named, before the justices, and bring all jesuits and seminary priests, who shall come or be within their precincts, and the persons who shall willingly receive them into their houses; and all Papists, and other persons, who wilfully absent themselves from their respective parish churches: And that they shall enable themselves to prove the same against them, before the said justices, upon the oath of two witnesses. Blank warrants to the churchwardens, to levy 12*d.* a Sunday upon the persons therein to be named, who shall not repair to some church, chapel, or other usual place, appointed for common prayer, to hear divine service, but shall forbear to hear the same, without any reasonable excuse to the contrary. Blank warrants to the constables, headboroughs, tything-men, churchwardens, and

overseers

overseers of the poor, to levy 5*s.* apiece upon the person therein to be named, convicted for being present at unlawful conventicles, under colour or pretence of exercising religion in another manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England.

Much disorder and riot attended the exertions of the police in this pursuit, which occasioned the succeeding order: "By the Mayor, to the Alderman of the ward of ———. Whereas, the last Lord's day, there were great tumults in divers places within the city, on occasion of putting the laws in execution against conventicles and unlawful meetings; for the prevention therefore of the like for the future, these are, by advice of my brethren the Aldermen, in his Majesty's name, to require you, that you immediately call before you all the constables within your ward, and admonish and strictly enjoin them, that hereafter on the Lord's day, they be constantly ready and at hand to keep the peace, and suppress all tumults and disorders (if any hereafter happen to arise) on such occasion, and to perform the duty incumbent upon them by act of Parliament; for every default wherein, each constable is by the tenor of the said act to incur the penalty of £.5; and to the end the said constables may be the more mindful of their duty in this particular, you are to deliver to every of them one of the copies herewith sent you, and hereof be very careful,

as

as you tender the city's peace. Given this 20th day of June, 1682."

These very active and coercive measures were still pursued at the close of the year, to entirely suppress the religious assemblies of Dissenters from the established church. As the conventicles of those were not expressly noticed in some official mandate issued not long before, it was conceived such were not to be interfered with. This mistake being rectified, the Lord Mayor had it in contemplation to visit them with an armed force; but he received an intimation from the King, that he would govern by the *civil power* alone. In consequence, constables and magistrates were employed to enter meetings, disperse the congregations, and to take the names of persons present, in order to their being prosecuted for the penalties of £.20 for the owner of the house, £.20 for the preacher, and 5*s.* each for individuals thus leaving their parish churches.

In the following January, the magistrates of Hicks's Hall published a notice, founded on an order of Council, calling upon them for the suppression of conventicles, declaring their having granted warrants to each parish officer, commanding them by name, to enquire where they were situated, and to take the name and residence of all who frequented them; which lists they were to return with such particulars and dates as would enable the Justices to pursue the parties offending to conviction.

In

In addition to these proceedings, it is said in the Loyal Protestant, that six persons, inhabitants of St. Martin's, Ludgate, were excommunicated for absenting themselves from church; and the statement is confirmed by the office records of Middlesex in other cases.

At the General Quarter Sessions, held at Hicks's-hall, Oct. 14, 1681, the Magistrates of Middlesex resolved to put in execution the act of 17th Charles II. which enacts, that all those who preached in conventicles or meetings, contrary to the statutes of the realm, shall not come within five miles of a corporation; that no person shall teach in any school under the penalty of £.40, unless he attended the established church; and that of the 20th year of the same reign, which ordains, that if any person above sixteen years of age attended a religious assembly in a house where more than five others, exclusive of the household, were present, except the rites were according to the established church, any person preaching there should forfeit a certain sum. This was in consequence of information received, that many houses had then lately been erected, where Papists, seminary priests, and Jesuits, attracted great numbers of people, and that schools were opened in direct defiance of the acts recited; they therefore declared, that all who held licences for keeping houses of entertainment, who did not regularly attend their parish church, or presumed

to

to enter any meeting or conventicle, should be deprived of their licences. The churchwardens were also informed, that the money distributed to the poor who did not regularly receive the Sacrament at the usual periods, should not be allowed in passing their accounts; at the same time the Magistrates declared their intention of appointing persons to prosecute offenders, of addressing his Majesty to provide a Test Act, and of suppressing those seditious clubs frequently held at public houses. The Ministers of every parish within the county were requested to read these resolutions to their congregations.

The Grand Jury of the hundred of Ossulston presented several Presbyterians and Quakers in October 1681, for attending their respective meetings, who were bound over with good security to discontinue their practice on this head. And the Lord Mayor decreed, that no person whatever should frequent public houses on Sundays, under the penalty of 5*s.* each person, to be recovered from the landlord, with the exception of cooks only.

In the same month, measures of equal rigour were taken by the Privy Council, composed of Prince Rupert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earls of Bath and Craven, Viscount Fauconberg, the Bishop of London, and Secretary Jenkins, which will be explained by their own order. "Whereas there was this day

presented

presented at the Board, a list of the names of several tradesmen who are Papists, residing in the parishes of St. Martin's in the fields, St. Giles in the fields, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and places adjacent, contrary to the laws of this kingdom, and his Majesty's proclamation for re-enforcing of the same: It was thereupon ordered by their Lordships, that the said list be forthwith sent to his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, and the city and liberties of Westminster, who at this present Sessions of Peace are to proceed against the said popish tradesmen according to law, and to give the Board an account of what they shall do thereupon." This was succeeded by a second order, requiring from the Magistrates an account of their proceedings, and a further list of delinquents.

I shall conclude my sketch of the abortive attempts to suppress the various dissenting assemblies, by giving a copy of the warrant used on these occasions, and a list of some of the meetings visited and disturbed by their authority in July 1682. "To all Constables, and all other his Majesty's officers of the peace, within the said city, whom this may concern. Whereas I am informed by John Hilton, gentleman, that on the next Lord's day, being the 2d day of this instant July, there will be held an unlawful conventicle or meeting in Chequer Inn by Dowgate, in the city of London, under colour and pretence

of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, contrary to an act of Parliament made in the 22d year of his Majesty's reign that now is, entituled, 'An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles:' These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, strictly to charge and command you, and every one of you, to repair to the said place, taking with you such force and assistance for the better execution of the act as you shall think fit; and if you shall find any such conventicle or unlawful meeting, as aforesaid, that then you enter the same with your assistance; and in case of the door being shut, after refusal or denial to enter, you break open and enter the same, and apprehend and take into your custody the persons with the preacher there unlawfully assembled, to the intent they may be proceeded against according to law, as is directed in the aforesaid act; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Hereof fail not at your peril. Given under my hand and seal, this first day of July, A. D. 1682.

"GEORGE WATERMAN."

The Conventicle Courant, the first number of which was published July 14, gave a particular account of the disagreeable proceedings which occurred in consequence of the above and similar warrants. It relates, that on Saturday, June 30, Mr. John Hilton applied for, and obtained them in this manner.

To

To Sir George Waterman, who issued five warrants for five several conventicles; viz.	Pin Makers hall, On London Bridge, In and by Joiners hall, At Woodmongers hall, At the Chequer Inn;
Sir James Smith,	At the Bull and Mouth, Embroiderers hall, Lorrimers hall, Turners hall, Cordwainers hall;
Sir Henry Tulse,	In Petty France, Bell in Walbrook, St. Martin's la. Thames st. In a court, Gracechurch st. In Devonshire house;
Sir Robert Jeffreys,	Mugwell street, Paul's alley, Plasterers hall, Glovers hall;
Sir Jonath. Raymond,	Freeman's court, Crosby square, Kemp's Coffee-house, Little Winchester street, Founders hall;
Sir Thomas Beckford,	Jewen street, Wine Office court, Goldsmiths court, High hall, Bartholomew close;
Sir Thomas Orby and Justice Ball, for Westminster,	Lobb's, Alsop's, Meggs, Farringdon.

Tremendous as this array of authority appeared, its operations were rendered abortive by very simple means; in many cases, the constables affected to doubt the authenticity of the warrants, and while examining into that circumstance, the time elapsed for executing them; in others, mobs assembled, and denounced vengeance against informers. Hence in a very few instances indeed were the parties implicated disturbed; and in these there seemed to be so much to condemn, and so little to applaud, that all interference with the Dissenters insensibly ceased; which, thank Heaven, has never been renewed, except by persons whose lives have paid the forfeit of their intolerance.

The Toleration Act has, I hope, concluded all contentions on this subject—the most improper of all others for Christians to contend upon. As a contrast to the persecuting spirit evinced by government with respect to the doctrines of the inhabitants of this island, it may not be amiss to relate the reception foreign Protestants met with from the same power.

The French government, pursuing the most rigorous and unjustifiable measures against the Protestants of that kingdom in 1681, numbers came to England, many of whom were greatly embarrassed in their circumstances. The King immediately consulted the Privy Council at Hampton Court on the subject, when it was resolved that they

they should receive instant relief; and the charge of procuring them subscriptions was confided to the Bishop of London, who, it appears, executed his office to the utmost of his ability within his diocese. A brief was also issued for a collection throughout the kingdom; to which was added a letter from the King to the Lord Mayor, recommending the situation of those distressed strangers to the benevolence of the citizens of London.

The Gazette of Sept. 12, 1681, contains a proclamation from the King, wherein he declared he held himself bound in conscience to receive and support all Protestants under the above circumstances; and granted those already here his letters of denization without any charge, besides the free exercise of their different professions, with such privileges as were consistent with the laws of the country. The King promised, in another part of this pleasing and honourable act, to recommend to Parliament the general naturalization of these foreigners, and to give them such immunities as would enable them to place their children in schools or colleges. The proclamation further commanded his civil and military officers, at the different ports of the kingdom, to receive those who might arrive with kindness, furnish them with passports, and facilitate the passage of the effects they brought with them to any part of the country, without the exaction of the usual duties. And, to conclude, the King appointed the Archbishop

bishop of Canterbury as the medium through which applications and requests would immediately reach him. Grateful for these benign acts, the French and Dutch churches of London deputed David Primrose, minister of the former, to address the King as follows:

"SIR,

"We are come to cast ourselves at your Majesty's feet, on the behalf of the French and Dutch churches in your city of London, to testify the profound acknowledgements which we have of all the favours that you have shown to the Protestant strangers, who are come to seek for a sanctuary for their consciences within your Majesty's dominions. Sir, we are so deeply sensible of your royal bounties, that we cannot refrain from declaring it publickly to your royal self. Most certainly it is a very great boldness for such mean persons as we are to approach your Majesty; but considering that that infinite God who has his throne in heaven vouchsafes to accept the thanksgiving of his creatures, it is our hope that your Majesty will not disdain to receive ours; and that you will be favourably pleased with us in rendering our homages to your clemency.

"Upon these considerations we take the liberty to come here, to tell your Majesty that which we every where declare, that it is impossible for us sufficiently to admire your goodness; and,

and, though it were only that we beheld in the world no person above you, you are most worthy of our most humble respects; yet they are due to you in a manner altogether particular; for that, although so great and so elevated, you are nevertheless so clement and benign. Thus, Sir, you worthily maintain that name of Benefactor, which Jesus Christ declares that we should give to the lords of nations; and that of Defender of the Faith, which is one of your titles;—this is to make use of your sovereign power to that end for which God has ordained it, which is to procure as much as is possible the happiness of all men. This is to resemble the most great and most good God, whose Vicegerent your Majesty is.

"We would more vehemently farther express our acknowledgments, but we want words; and besides we dare not give your Majesty longer trouble. Therefore we conclude, beseeching your Majesty with a most profound humility, that according to the example of that great God, who to the end loves those whom he hath once loved, that your Majesty would be pleased to continue to us the favour of your protection; protesting on our side, that we are firm in our resolution, to render you inviolably all those respects and homages which are due to your Majesty from the faithfullest of your subjects, and continually to pray to that supreme God by whom Kings reign, that he would heap upon

your

your Majesty the abundance of his blessings."

A remarkable instance of the strange effects produced by enthusiasm in religion occurred in 1684, when Mr. John Child committed the horrid crime of suicide, in consequence of the indulgence of that passion on the opposite sides, in the controversies of the times. We first hear of this person as a violent declaimer against the Non-conformists in a book published by him, under the title of "The Second Argument for a more firm Union amongst Protestants." A Narrative, which appeared after his death, contains the following passages. To one Mr. H. C., coming to visit him, (taking up the book in his hand,) began to read where he saith, "The greatest number of Dissenters do hold principles dangerously heretical, and most abominably abusing the most holy God," &c. But before he could end that paragraph, being under extreme agony of mind, and weeping bitterly, put the book from him, and spake to this effect. "I have represented those Calvin's principles beyond whatever they conceived, strained their opinions beyond their intentions, and drawing such consequences as never were in their minds;" and, striking his breast with great anguish, said, "These words lie close, I shall never get over this; I wrote in prejudice against them, calling them a villainous body of people, which was unjust." Professing that he could not repent, and with

with a very grim countenance, said, "I shall go to hell; I am broken in judgment when I think to pray; either I have a flushing in my face, as if I were in a flame, or I am dumb, and cannot speak, or else I fall asleep upon my knees; all the signs of one whom God hath left, forsaken, and hardened."

His Recantation partakes of this unfortunate infatuation, which declares, "That it is a dishonour to the church and clergy of England to have such an one, that hath no more wit, so little justice, reason, and conscience, plead for them; that the author of this libel is worthily so represented, appears by divers base, false, devilish, and most scandalous passages, therein contained. They are represented as a people weak and fantastical, and not rendering a tolerable reason for their differing from others, which is a devilish stroke made by a back blow;—to assert the Nonconformists have no kind of order in sending forth their ministers; that preachers run on their own heads upon a fanciful supposition, that they are able to preach, or, at the most, have but the consent and connivance of a few weak persons, is a devilish lie, as thousands can witness; to say, it is a true state, or the case being truly thus, as we are able to make it good, is a lie, if possible, more than damnable," &c.

Echard speaks very justly as to one cause of the obloquy heaped upon the regular clergy in his

his "Grounds and occasions of the contempt of the Clergy and Religion," published in 1670. This gentleman perceived that ignorance in the members of the established church still prevailed, and exerted himself to remove the odium. "The next unhappiness," he observes, "that seems to have hindered some of our clergy from arriving to that degree of understanding that becomes such an holy office, whereby their company and discourses might be much more than they are commonly valued and desired, is, the inconsiderate sending of all kinds of lads to the universities; let their parts be never so low and pitiful, the instructions they have lain under never so mean and contemptible, and the purses of their friends never so short to maintain them there. If they have but the commendation of some lamentable and pitiful construing master, it passes for sufficient evidence that they will prove persons v ry eminent in the church: that is to say, if a lad has but a lusty and well-bearing memory (this being the usual and almost only thing whereby they judge of their abilities); if he can sing over very tunably three or four stanzas of Lilly's poetry; be very quick and ready to tell what's Latin for all instruments belonging to his father's shop; if presently, upon the first scanning, he knows a *sponde* from a *dactyl*, and can fit a few of these same without any sense to his fingers-ends; if lastly, he can say perfectly by heart his Academic

mic Catechism, in pure and passing Latin, *i.e.* What is his name? Where went he to school? And what author is he best and chiefly skilled in? 'A forward boy,' cries the school-master; 'a very pregnant child! ten thousand pities but he should be a scholar; he proves a brave clergyman, I'll warrant you.' Away to the University he must needs go; then for a little logic, a little ethics, and, God knows, a very little of every thing else; and the next time you meet him, it is in the pulpit."

It would disgrace the very term of Religion to include all the horrid blasphemies uttered by fanatics in this general sketch of that sublime affection of the soul when purified by reason and reflection; one instance will serve as an illustration (abstracting from it some of the malignity of the persons concerned) of the strange and incomprehensible reveries which the mind of man is capable of indulging on this subject. Nathaniel Powel, a proselyte of Lodowick Muggleton's, was proved by eight witnesses to have uttered the ensuing expressions in 1681: That he preferred believing in the doctrines of Muggleton, though he had stood on the pillory, rather than in those of Christ; that himself possessed the power of salvation and condemnation, which enabled him to say a Gilbert Soper was in the latter state; that Muggleton had the same attributes in common with the Divinity, who eternally saved or destroyed

destroyed at his pleasure; and that, having never offended the Almighty, he had no sins to expiate.

Without entering into farther particulars, or exposing to animadversion more modern enthusiasts, we may say in few words, that the universal toleration enjoyed in this country has served to simplify the opinions and the rites of religion to the very extreme point of propriety, beyond which, those who still proceed, ever confound their senses; and if they do not always appear absolutely wicked, we must allow they make themselves truly ridiculous.

The custom of conveying approbation or applause by *humming*, prevalent in the seventeenth century, is well illustrated by the following curious anecdote from Johnson's Lives of the Poets, 1809, vol. ii. p. 41.

"Bishop Burnet is not very favourable to the memory of Bishop Sprat; but he and Burnet were old rivals. On some publick occasion, they both preached before the House of Commons. There prevailed in those days an indecent custom: when the preacher touched any favourite topick in a manner that delighted his audience, their approbation was expressed by a loud *hum*, continued in proportion to their zeal or pleasure. When Burnet preached, part of his congregation *hummed* so loudly and so long, that he sat down to enjoy it, and rubbed his face with his handkerchief. When Sprat preached, he likewise was

honoured

honoured with the same animating *hum;* but he stretched out his hands to the congregation, and cried, 'Peace, peace! I pray you, peace.'—This I was told in my youth by my father, an old man, who had been no careless observer of the passages of those times.—Burnet's sermon, says Salmon, was remarkable for sedition, and Sprat's for loyalty. Burnet had the thanks of the House; Sprat had no thanks, but a good living from the King, which, he said, was of as much value as the thanks of the Commons."

This custom was continued in the Universities in 1766, and perhaps later, as appears from the testimony of the Rev. Samuel Pegge, LL.D., who, in a curious posthumous volume of observations on various authors and subjects, intituled, '*Anonymiana*,' p. 467, says, 'That way of giving applause by *humming*, now practised in our Universities, (for which reason, in a *tripos* speech, they were once called *Hum et Hissimi Auditores,)* is a method not unknown to barbarous nations. (See Churchill's Travels, vol. i. p. 661. ed. 1732.)"

A pamphlet, printed in 1691, intituled, "The Heads of an Agreement assented to by the united ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational, and signed by above eighty ministers, gives us a pleasing sketch of their faith, and explains the difference between the

the church ordination and the following mode of proceeding:

"Of the Ministry.—We agree that the ministerial office is instituted by Jesus Christ, for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church, and to continue to the end of the world. They who are called to this office ought to be endued with competent learning and ministerial gifts, as also with the grace of God, sound in judgment, not novices in the faith and knowledge of the gospel, without scandal, of holy conversation, and such as devote themselves to the work and service thereof: That ordinarily, none shall be ordained to the work of this ministry, but such as were called and chosen thereunto by a particular church. That in so great a matter as the calling and chusing a pastor, we judge it ordinarily requisite, that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations: That after such advice, the person consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained, and set apart to his office over them; wherein it is ordinarily requisite, that the pastors of neighbouring congregations concur with the preaching elder or elders, if such there be: That whereas such ordination is only intended for such as never before had been ordained to the ministerial office;

office; if any judge, that in the case also of the removal of one formerly ordained to a new station or pastoral charge, there ought to be a like solemn recommending him and his labours to the grace and blessing of God, no different sentiments or practice herein shall be any occasion of contention or breach of communion among us. It is expedient, that they who enter on the work of preaching the gospel be not only qualified for communion of saints, but also that, except in cases extraordinary, they give proof of their gifts and fitness for the said work unto the pastors of churches of known ability to discern and judge of their qualifications, that they may be sent forth with *solemn approbation* and *prayer;* which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain concerning their being called to the work; and for preventing (as much as in us lieth) ignorant and rash intruders."

The ministers who thus agreed declare further, That their course with offenders against their particular doctrines and morality is by admonition and excommunication; persons leaving their communion to be reclaimed, if possible, by "all due means;" those failing, "the church may justly esteem and declare itself discharged of any further inspection over him."

Particular churches, they agree, ought not to be so separated as to prevent their having care and tenderness towards each other; on the contrary,

trary, their pastors should have frequent intercourse, that they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord. "Equality of power is to exist in their churches in its fullest latitude." That known members of particular churches, constituted as aforesaid, may have occasional communion with one another in the ordinances of the gospel, *viz.* the word, prayer, sacraments, singing psalms, dispensed according to the mind of Christ; unless that church with which they desire communion hath any just exception against them. Members of one church are not to transfer themselves to another, without the concurrence of each respective congregation; nor is one church to censure the acts of another, until it has heard the justification of its elders or messengers; and they profess their readiness to exchange accounts of church proceedings with each other.

They agree that the office of Deacon is of divine origin; they, therefore, appoint such to receive and distribute the church stock to its proper use, under the direction, if necessary, of the pastor and brethren. "And whereas divers are of opinion that there is also the office of Ruling Elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise; we agree, that this difference make no breach among us." Occasional meetings of ministers are recommended for general purposes, and their opinion to be submitted to when agreeable to the word of God.

"We

"We do reckon ourselves obliged continually to pray for God's protection, guidance, and blessing upon the rulers set over us: That we ought to yield unto them, not only subjection in the Lord, but support, according to our station and abilities: That if at any time it shall be their pleasure to call together any number of us, or require any account of our affairs, and the state of our congregations, we shall most readily express all dutiful regard to them therein."

As to faith, they deem it sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession, or Catechisms, shorter or longer, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.

They profess it their duty to bear all Christian respect to the several ranks and stations of Christians not of their communion; and declare they will in their respective places endeavour to reconcile those to God who are ignorant of the principles of the Christian faith, or of vicious conversation.

I have already said I purposely omit noticing in detail (except in two instances) the very numerous sects now established; as I am determined nothing shall tempt me to condemn their parti-

cular doctrines; and to applaud, *in all cases*, cannot be expected of a man who has an opinion of his own. Common charity dictates the propriety of acknowledging *all to be in the right* as to the principal end in view; but the same law is not imperious beyond this acknowledgement. It was far from my inclination or wish to say any thing about religion; yet it occurred to me, that the illustration of manners attempted in this work could not be considered as complete, without a chapter dedicated to this subject. I would willingly have attempted to discriminate the peculiar traits of manners during the prevalence of each set of doctrines, had I not foreseen offence might be taken by individuals professing them. As a substitute, I shall introduce short specimens of sermons, derived from a vast and valuable collection, which will give a general idea of the minds of a considerable number of the Clergy, who have flourished since the time of Edward the Sixth, and perhaps, in some degree, explain the habits of their hearers. In making those, I solemnly declare, I opened each sermon, and extracted from the page before me, without attempting to look beyond it, that I might satisfy *my own conscience* at least of the perfect impartiality my pen exercised. Passages ten times better than those I have selected may be found in all, and many ten times worse.

Echard, who wrote on the subject after the Restoration,

Restoration, gives several examples of peculiarity in this mode of reforming the morals of mankind. "Perhaps," he observes, "one gentleman's metaphorical knack of preaching comes off the sea, and then we shall hear of nothing but starboard and larboard, of stems, sterns, and forecastles, and such like salt-water language; so that one had need take a voyage to Smyrna or Aleppo, and very warily attend to all the sailors' terms, before I shall in the least understand my teacher."—"Another, he falls a fighting with his text, and makes a pitched battle of it, dividing it into the right wing and left wing; then he rears it, flanks it, entrenches it, storms it; and then he musters all again, to see what word was lost or lamed in the skirmish, and so falling on again with fresh valour, he fights backward and forward, charges through and through, routs, kills, takes, and then, gentlemen, as you were."

Similes and metaphors seem to have had very powerful effects at the time alluded to, if we judge from the labours of the clergy in forcing them. "There is little on this side the moon that will content them," says Echard: "up presently to the *primum mobile*, and the trepidation of the firmament; dive into the bowels and hid treasures of the earth; dispatch forthwith for Peru and Jamaica: A town-bred or country-bred similitude—it is worth nothing! *'Tis reported of a tree growing upon the bank of*

 Euphrates,

Euphrates, *the great river* Euphrates, *that it brings forth an apple, to the eye very fair and tempting, but inwardly it is filled with nothing but useless and deceitful dust:* even so, dust *we are, and to dust we must all go.* Now, what a lucky discovery," says Echard, " was this, that a man's body should be so exactly like an apple! And I will assure you, that this was not thought on till within these few years. And I am afraid too, he had a kind of a hint of this from another, who had formerly found out that a man's soul was like an oyster; for, says he in his prayer, *our souls are constantly* gaping after thee, O Lord! yea, verily, our souls do gape, even as an oyster gapeth."

It will be proper to observe, that several answers appeared to the work just quoted; one of which positively charges Echard with misrepresentation and falsehood; but it is in our power, from undoubted orignals, to produce similar folly. It is therefore highly probable, that Echard parodied some of these absurdities, to avoid hurting his contemporaries by giving their own words.

EXTRACTS FROM SERMONS.

" For if ye inwardly behold these words, if ye diligently roll them in your minds, and after explicate and open them, ye shall see our time much touched in these mysteries; ye shall perceive, that God by this example shaketh us by the

the noses, and pulleth us by the ears; ye shall perceive, very plainly, that God setteth before our eyes, in this similitude, what we ought most to see, and what we ought soonest to follow."

Counterfeiters of God's coin.

"They have a wonderful pretty example to persuade this thing, of a certain married woman, which, when her husband was in purgatory, in that fiery furnace that hath burned away so many of our pens, paid her husband's ransom, and so of duty claimed him to be set at liberty. While they thus preached to the people, that dead images (which at the first, as I think, were set up only to represent things absent) not only ought to be covered with gold, but also ought of all faithful Christian people, yea in this scarceness and penury of all things, to be clad with silk garments, and those also laden with precious gems and jewels. And that, beside all this, they are to be lighted with wax candles, both within the church and without the church, yea, at noon days, as who should say, Here no cost can be too great; whereas, in the mean time, we see Christ's faithful and lively images, bought with no less price than with his most precious blood, alas, alas! to be an-hungred, a-thirst, a-cold, and to lie in darkness, wrapped in all wretchedness; yea, to lie there till death take away their miseries."

Latimer's Sermon before the Convocation, 28 H. VIII.

The

The same sermon contains the following sketch of the evil spirit Satan. "Then the children of this world that are known to have so evil a father, the world so evil a grandfather, the devil, cannot chance but be evil. Surely the first head of their ancestry was the deceitful serpent the devil, a monster monstrous above all monsters. I cannot wholly express him, I wot not what to call him, but a certain thing altogether made of the hatred of God, of mistrust in God, of lyings, deceits, perjuries, discords, manslaughters; and to say at one word, a thing concrete, heaped up, and made of all kind of mischief. But what the devil mean I to describe particularly the devil's nature, when no reason, no power of man's mind, can comprehend it. This alonly I can say grossly, and as in a sum, of the which all we (our hurt is the more) have experienced the devil to be, a stinking centime of all vices, a foul filthy channel of all mischiefs, and that this world, his son, ever a child meet to have such a parent, is not much unlike his father."

Latimer.

"This is then most certainly and constantly to be believed of us all, upon pain of damnation, that in this blessed sacrament of the altar (whereof I entreat at this time) is verily and really present the true body and blood of our Saviour Christ, which suffered upon the cross for us, and is received there corporally by the services of our mouths,

mouths, not in the same form of his body as it was upon the cross, but in the forms of our daily and special nutriments of bread and wine; the substance of which bread and wine is converted and changed into the substance of Christ's body and blood, by the omnipotent and secret power of his word assisting the due administration of his minister."

"And so we esteem this sacrament otherwise than an infidel doth. Like as an unlearned man when he looketh upon a book, he understandeth not the meaning of the writing; but a learned man will find much matter hid there, as the lives and stories of men. The unlearned man will think there is nothing else but paper and ink; the learned man will understand another's speaking, and speak to one being absent, and ask by his letters whatsoever he would have. Even so it is in these mysteries; the infidels, although they hear what it is, yet they seem not to hear."

"And like as when a man vexed with a grievous sickness hath need of many medicines, and hath little to buy them withal; if a physician come unto him that is sick, and say, 'Thou hast need of divers kinds of medicines, and knowing that thou art not able to buy them all, yet buy me one or two of the best of them, and least worth, and the rest I shall find of mine own costs freely;' even so Almighty God saith to us, Give me thy confession,

confession, and the tears of penance, and the rest shall I find of my gentleness and free gift."

Sermons by S. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, 1558.

"And could we frame our tongues, which I hope all Christians with heart detest, so much to dishonour the person of Christ, as to avouch him to be truly rejected and accursed of his Father for the time, be it never so short; yet we must not shew ourselves so void of all sense as to say, that Christ's soul suffered hell-fire, which is the perpetual and essential punishment of all the damned. Let us not come within that danger of so desperate folly, not to know, or not to care, what we defend or affirm. It should have some proof, it should have some truth, whatsoever is held out for matter of faith. That Christ's soul was tormented with hell-fire, I ask not what proof or truth, but what shew can be pretended? The fire of hell, they will say, is metaphorical; they that go thither shall find it no metaphor. It is no good dallying with God's eternal and terrible judgments. The Scriptures are so plain and so full of the parts and effects of fire in hell, that I dare not allegorize them."

Sermon by Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, 1599.

"Of all the days in the week, there is special notice taken of one day, as very dismal to the Irish, and in a manner fatal to them. This day is said

said to be Tuesday; for upon a Tuesday they lost Limerick, upon a Tuesday they lost Wexford, upon a Tuesday they lost Waterford, and upon a Tuesday they lost Divelin (Dublin); aye, and a fifth time too, upon a Tuesday it was that they had a great overthrow, the Earl of Thomond, that then was, being chief of all their troops. But whatsoever may be said of that day concerning the Irish, sure I am that of this day, a Tuesday too, when time was, and of another day, in this month, it may be said of us English, that we have received two as great blessings from the immediate hand of God, as ever did nation in this world, or ever is like to do to the world's end. I mean the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, of happy memory, the 17th of this month, and that which this 5th day we have celebrated, the continuing of King James his."

Sermon, Nov. 5, 1609, by John Day of Oriel.

"But alas! to what end and purpose speak I now to distressed souls? Where are they? Where live they? Where may we but hear of such an one? I, for my part, would honour the ground that such an one treads upon; I would kiss even the shadow of such an one's feet. We may see, on the contrary, a world of hairy scalps that go on still in their wickedness, that add (as Moses speaks) drunkenness unto thirst; that is, security unto sin, and assemble themselves by companies in harlots houses. To such, indeed, may I venture

to

to speak; for where are there not some such; and therefore even in this assembly, supposing there may be one at the least, let me single him out in a word or two; be it at his own choice to be bettered by it."

Sermon by J. Day, 1612.

"The superstitious papist, troubled in conscience for sin, runs up and down for relief, like a hart with an arrow in his side.

'*Se rotat in vulnus transfixam circuit hastam.*' He sends to the God of Ekron for help; he buys a pardon, goes to shrift, lasheth, and lameth himself, as the priests of Baal did, posteth to a mass, passeth on in pilgrimage to a wooden worm-eaten lady, or painted image; and all this while, as an aguish man that drinks water, his disease encreaseth: no shift of place, no change of air, can relieve him, being dogged and attended on by the hellish hag of his conscience; *quæ surdo verbere cædit*, which whips him in secret, and in silence tells him,

'*Omnibus umbra locis adero, dabis improbe pœnas*'."

Sermon by Ed. Gee, D.D. 1620.

"Artificial humility, which we call an humble pride; when a man either desires those gifts and abilities which he hath, or acknowledges those vices and infirmities which he hath not, with intent to get more credit by the contradiction of others. As for example: a man of good

good learning and great knowledge will say, I have no learning, no knowledge; a rich man, I am poor; a beautiful person, I am deformed. This is nothing but pride masking under humility; for the desire others should cross them, and double their praises, so much more as they have dispraised themselves;—which appears by this, that if a man should second them, in acknowledgement of the truth of these discommendations, and say, it is true, you are an ignorant person, ill-favoured, beggarly, &c., he should find them incensed, and perhaps enraged against him. This is to put away glory with one hand, and pull it to us with the other."—"The proud and vainglorious man is like the marigold, which opens and shuts with the sun, or like the heliotropion, which no sooner sees the sun arise but it lifts up the head, and all day long turns after it; and when the sun is set, the hope of preferment gone, hangs down the head as forlorn and desperate. The humble man, on the other side, is like the lily (as Bernard); or rather like the sweet-smelling violet, which grows low to the ground, and hangs the head downwards; and besides, hides itself with its own leaves; and, were it not that the fragrant smell of his many virtues betrays him to the world, would chuse to live and die in his self-contenting secrecy."

Sermon by D. Cawdrey, 1624.

"Peace

"Peace is one of the greatest temporal blessings which a state or a church can receive; for when God himself describes the excellency of government, he describes it by peace. The work of justice shall be peace, and my people shall dwell in the tabernacle of peace. I will not load you with a long discourse of peace, and the benefits it brings. It hath the same fate that some others of God's blessings have; it is better known by want than use, and thought most worth the having by them that have it not."

Sermon by Laud before the King, 1621.

"It were happy if all states, Christian especially, were at unity in themselves, and with their neighbours; and the church prays, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered. But, when the ambition of neighbouring states will admit nor safe, nor honourable peace, then there is most need Jerusalem should be at peace and unity in itself. Need! yes, need with a witness: for all division, if it be voluntary, it is an opening; if it be violent, it is a breach; both make way for foreign force."

Archbishop Laud's Sermon at opening the Parliament, Feb. 6, 1625.

"A small thing is a great matter in you: one fly corrupts a box of ointment, but many flies in a barrel of pitch or tar are counted nothing. Before men are regenerate, their sins are as blots upon

upon a table before a picture be drawn upon it, which are not regarded of any; but after it is drawn, the least blot is seen of every one. Take the light of a star in a dark night, and compare it with the light of the sun, the star will shew itself, and no more; it cannot turn the darkness to light; but the light of the sun, though never so little, look in what measure it appears, it scatters the darkness from east to west; so there is light in the minds of men, which is but as a star in a dark night, which doth not take away the darkness; but if it be a sanctifying light, it is like the light of the sun, not shut within a narrow compass, but spreading itself into all the parts of the soul: or as if a candle be brought into a room, it lightens all the house; but if it be a spark of fire, it shews itself, and glows, and does no more; it doth not enlighten the house."

Sermons by J. Preston, D.D. 1625.

"Love is the most sensible, the most quick and most active affection of all others. Consider, if thou love any creature, or any thing, any man or woman, dost thou not feel thy affection stirring in thee? Dost thou not find thy heart thus longing after them whom thou affectest? Thou delightest to be in their company, in their presence, thou desirest to be with them; so that if a strangeness grow between you at any time, thy heart is not at ease till all be right again between you. So, dost thou love the Lord Jesus?

Dost

Dost thou keep his commandments? Doth a man profess to love God, and cares not to vex him and anger him?"

Sermon by John Preston, D. D. 1630.

"And wept for it, saying (the force of the stream, ye see, carries me down into the next verse), 'O! if thou hadst known, even thou, at the least in this thy day. *Loquitur lachrymas.*' He doth not only weep tears, but he speaks tears. One word (as it were) trickling down after another, separated from its fellows, as if there were no acquaintance betwixt them. 'O! if thou hadst known;' there he stops;—'even thou;' there he makes another stop;—'at the least in this thy day;' there he stops again;—'those things which belong unto thy peace!' What now? Like a great viol with a narrow mouth, he is here quite stopped up with his own fulness. Not a drop more yet. Those thoughts of sorrow which knock at his lips for passage, like a crowd at a little door, while every one strives to be first, the passage is clogged up, and none of them can get through."

Sermon by P. Hansted, M. A. 1636.

"I know that some of those step-fathers and hard-hearted wretches, who be indeed the chief, if not the only, cause of all this, blush not to attribute the daily falling off of multitudes from our church to overmuch preaching; but this is as rational as was his mad opinion touching St. Paul,

Paul, that much learning had made him mad. These are crying abominations, that will cry as loud against you, as now they do against the authors of them, if you reform them not. Wonder not at my length and heat in this point. It is a matter of greatest consequence, and of all other most proper for a preacher to be zealous in: and give me leave to tell you, that this must be put in the head of the catalogue of your weightiest consultations at this time, if you desire ever to draw the people of this and the adjacent dominions into any covenant and communion with God, or to settle any thing for the good of yourselves and countries."

Sermon, by Cor. Burgess, D. D. before House of Commons, 1640.

"I beseech you therefore, by all the mercies of God, by all the bowels of Christ in shedding of his dearest blood for those precious souls—who now, even by thousands and millions, miserably perish in their ignorance and sins—that you would carefully reform, or cast out all idle, unsound, unprofitable, and scandalous ministers; and provide a sound, godly, profitable, and settled preaching ministry in every congregation through the land, and the annexed dominions; and to take no less care for their diligent and constant performance of their duty, both in life and doctrine; as also for their liberal maintenance (that may be still capable of improvement, as the

times

times grow harder and commodities dearer), that both themselves who preach the gospel, and all theirs also, may cheerfully and comfortably live of the gospel."

Same Sermon.

"If ministers now be silenced against law for preaching down innovation, or people vexed for refusing subjection to them, they may go to any peer or parliament man, and by his national covenant (he himself having first taken it) require and enjoy his assistance to be righted; and to have his oppressing persecutor punished, whatever he be layman or prelate. Nay if thou canst not look so high as these spiritual considerations, yet our covenant is such as may make thee glad; for if any shall now come upon thee with unlawful taxes, will strayne thy goods, imprison thy person, &c. thou mayst go to any peer or parliament man, and by virtue of this require assistance. And is not here cause of joy? 'O then be joyful all the people of the land, and serve the Lord with gladness.'"

Judah's Joy at the Oath—a Sermon by John Geree, M.A. 1641, published by House of Commons.

"Believe it, that our courage will daunt our adversaries, and drive them away: the captain of that blackguard (the devil I mean) will give back, if stoutly withstood—a valiant captain, when the field is fought and the victory is got, bids, 'Bring in that cravant, that milk-sop, who did run

run away; hiss him, turn him out of doors, as the shame of his country;' when Christ shall come and call, and say to some white-livered men, 'You were ashamed to appear for the strict observation of the Lord's day, and you would not be seen to favour the Reformation, which by England's parliament, at such a time, was endeavoured, &c."

Sermon before the Militia, by Simeon Asm, 1642.

"O created well-beloved's, you are black, and the sun hath looked on you, when you come out and stand beside the standard-bearer among ten thousand! Oh, who are sick of love for this Lord! O for eternity's leisure to look on him, to feast upon a sight of his face! O for the long summer day of endless ages to stand beside him, and to enjoy him! O time, O sin, be removed out of the way! O day, O fairest of day's dawn, O morning of eternity, break out, and arise, that we may enjoy this incomprehensible Lord; and, therefore, O come out of the creature. Make not clay and the creature, whose mother is *purum nihil*—pure, mere nothing—your last end. Alas! make not the gospel of our Lord Jesus a post-horse, to ride your own errands; or a covenant with the most high Lord, a chariot and a stirrup, to mount up upon the height of your carnal and clay projects. This is, as if one should stop the entry of an oven with a king's robe royal."

Sermon before House of Commons, 1644, by S. Rutherford.

"I say there is nothing that is worthy the name of a plague, or that is a plague, which can come from any other fountain or store-house, but only from God's wrath: from God it must come; that is without all question. Affliction doth not rise out of the dust, nor originally from any creature: all the devils in hell are not able to inflict one plague without God, nor kill a poor hog, &c.

"You shall have one example of it [famine] in Samaria, when they were brought to that pass, that over night an asse's head—that hath but little meat on it at the best, and poor meat it is—an asse's head shall be a king's dish; that he shall give fourscore pieces of silver for it; and a kab of doves-dung shall be worth a sufficient quantity of money, to be eaten: if God speak but the word, the next day a bushel of fine flour shall be sold for a shekel, though no man could imagine how, yet God made it good—you know the story."

Sermon before Lord Mayor, 1644,
by S. Marshall, B. D.

"Consider, in the next place, as Christ is a way of quick riddance, so he is a sure way, a firm way, a hard way; there is no fear of sinking while we keep this causeway, this road as I may call it. Gluts of rain makes some clayey, boggy ways sinking (both cart and man), and all may stick fast, and sink in them. As for Christ, he is a way so rocky, that all the rain that falls upon this way, it

it runs away, it makes it never a jot the more sinking. A man may be as firm, as secure in the greatest storm as he shall be in the fairest weather. I mean thus, Christ will not deceive—every thing in the world else will deceive a man, but Christ will never deceive him. You have observed sometimes, I know, some places that have been as green and fair o the eye, as the best way that ever men set foot into; but set your foot into them, and you sink up to the neck—they are boggy quagmires."

Sermon by Tobias Crispe, 1644.

"Defile not the land with false judgment, as much as the delinquents have defiled it by their offences; let no man's life, nor no man's death, witness against you; and in all the justice that you do, especially see, that it be out of pure love to justice, and no other respects whatsoever. Consider that of Jehu, Hosea, i. 4. God would avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, yet the fact of Jehu in itself was justice; and God said, 'He had done all that was right in his sight:' therefore God may be avenged on you, even for that which is a righteous action, if not done by you out of love to righteousness. Consider why the Lord hath brought all those evils upon our adversaries — hath not injustice and guilt of blood done it? God forbid, then, that partiality or friends should carry you into the same sins! Remember, that as you judge

others, so God will judge you, and men also. And consider, that when we stand up to execute the judgments of the Lord, the Lord may cease from bringing any further judgments upon us."

Sermon before the Court Martial, London, Sept. 5, 1644, by Ant. Burges.

"Let us bless God for the Parliament, for those worthies that have been raised up, that have eased us of many burdens and superstitions. All government it is a mercy, but now when they are raised up so as to be effectual in a reformation, and in working the will of God, this is much more. Beloved, any kind of government is better than no government. There was a law amongst the Persians, that when their governor was dead, there should be a lawlessness for five days after —that every man should do what he would: now, for those five days, there was such killing and robbing, and such destroying one another, that, by the time the five days were over, they were glad of a government again."

Sermon at electing a Lord Mayor, 1644, by A. Burges.

"That to be a covenant refuser, is a sin that makes the times perilous. To be *fœderis noscius*, or *infœderabilis*. For the understanding of this, you must know that there are two sorts of covenants: there are devilish and hellish covenants, and there are godly and religious covenants. First, there are devilish covenants—such as

Acts,

Acts, xxiii. 12, and Isaiah, xxviii. 15; such as the holy league (as it was unjustly called) in France against the Hugonites, and that of our gunpowder traitors in England: such are our Oxford covenants, for the destruction of the parliament and godly party. Now to refuse to take such covenants is not to make the times perilous, but the taking of them makes the times perilous. Secondly, there are godly and religious covenants —such as Job, xxxi. 1; such as Psalm cxix.; such as 2 Chron. xv. 14; and such as this is, which you are met to take this day: for you are to swear to such things which you are bound to endeavour after, though you did not swear. Your swearing is not *solum vinculum*, but *novum vinculum*; is not the only, but only a new and another bond to tie you to the obedience of the things you swear unto; which are so excellent and so glorious that, if God give those that take it a heart to keep it, it will make these three kingdoms the glory of the world. And as one of the reverend commissioners of Scotland said, when it was first taken, in a most solemn manner at Westminster, by the parliament and the assembly, that if the Pope should have this covenant written upon a wall over-against him, sitting in his chair, it would be unto him like the hand-writing to Belshazzar; causing the joints of his loins to loose, and his knees to smite one against another: and I may add, that, if it be faithfully

faithfully and fully kept, it will make all the devils in hell to tremble, as fearing lest their kingdom should not long stand. Now then for a man to be an anti-covenanter, and to be such a covenant refuser, it must needs be a sin that makes the time perilous. The happiness or misery of England doth much depend upon the keeping or breaking of this covenant. If England keep it, England by keeping covenant shall stand sure, according to that text—Ezek. vii. 14. If England break it, God will break England in pieces; if England slight it, God will slight England; if England forsake it, God will forsake England. And this shall be written upon the tomb of perishing England—'Here lieth a nation that hath broken the covenant of their God.'"

Sermon before Lord Mayor, on renewing the Covenant, 1645, by Ed. Calamy, D. D.

"Here then poor Exon, labouring under a well nigh four months tedious siege, mightest seasonably ask how many notes or bills were that while publicly put up for thee in the congregations in this place? I have heard of one young man, that put up some two or three. And thou faithful Plymouth, together with thy cordial and considerable sisters and neighbours — Dartmouth, Barnstable, Lyme, Taunton, &c. mightest second this complaint with an outcry. Alas, poor helpless, and almost hopeless West! And art thou alone,

alone, as one born out of due time? Art thou the only speckled bird, the mountains of Gilboa, when other parts have the seasonable, comfortable dews of help and pity? First, O ye blinded malignants! believe, in time, that the adverse party (called Cavaliers) are, beyond all that you have heard, blasphemous, treacherous, and cruel, against God and man, enemies and friends, promiscuously; and do not refuse that instruction which hath been dearly purchased for you, by the blood and estates of others. Next, O ye neuters and carnal confounders! believe, in time, that God and men, both good and evil men, yea very Satan himself, doth abhor a neuter."

Sermon by John Bond, B.L. 1645.

"Who among us (seven years ago) imagined, that this land should be healed of the two great plague-sores of this land—the common prayer-book and episcopacy; of the lesser scabs, of deans prebends, chancellors, archdeacons, choristers, promoters with, &c.; together with their spiritual courts, and all the trumpery of their superstitious ceremonies? Did we imagine we should be healed of these scabs—that they should be thrown out as menstrous clouts, or as execrable vanities? War, it ruins and spoils kingdoms, lays desolate mens' dwellings, turns stately buildings into an heap of stones; but peace repairs those ruins, and makes the desolate places to be inhabited, and built up again. War makes a channel

of

of blood to run throughout the land, but peace makes it to flow with milk and honey. War makes our fields to languish, and brings scarcity and cleanness of teeth in our dwellings; but peace makes our years drop fatness, and brings in a fulness of blessings."

Sermon, by C. Love, M. A. first Day of the Treaty at Uxbridge, 1645.

"Mankind naturally are altogether unsavoury; there is in men nothing but insipidity and insulsity, till they be seasoned with the salt of heavenly doctrine, and the grace of Christ's spirit. Can that which is unsavoury be eaten without salt, or is there any taste in the white of an egg? And some think that sycamore tree (Luke xix. 4,) is so called because of its unsavoury fruit. All men are fresh men in the university of this world, till they be thus salted. Nay mankind naturally stinks in the nostrils of God and good men as tainted flesh, or carrion in a ditch. Some things which are degenerate, and have lost their natural property and use, are yet good for something. Clipped silver and washed gold are not good for the merchant and tradesman to traffic withal, yet may serve the goldsmith to throw into the furnace; but a scandalous minister is like salt, and like Jeremiah's girdle good for nothing. A rag if it be not fit to wear, is fit for the dunghill; but unsavoury salt is hurtful to very dunghills."

Sermon, by T. Porter, M. A. 1649.

"Have

"Have we yet all? No. There is one predicament more of sins against the state. 1. Self power—Every man would rule, or bring the majesty of magistracy as low as themselves—a dangerous preface to cutting of throats, an Adamitish, diabolical levelism. 2. Self ends—Most men care for their cabins, whiles the ship (the common welfare) is in danger. They are like the Roman consul, that was deaf with delight in his garden, whiles the drums of the enemy beat at the walls of the city. 3. Sycophancy, with pretence of the common weal, to fill one's own pockets. Oh! this state eating, this commonwealth devouring! I wish I might see men go quite beyond Jehu; and, like Nehemiah, do that which all may have a share in. Oh, England, I am afraid concerning thee; and London concerning thee."

Sermon, before Lord Mayor, 1650,
by Nat. Holmes, D. D.

"Make this heavenly advantage of your country-houses, as to admire the wonders of God that shine forth there round about you. Every flower in the garden, tree in the orchard—those several beauties wherewith thou seest the earth bedecked—may represent this wonderful one, Jesus Christ, in a delightful appearance to thee; who is the sweetest of all things sweet; the beauty of all things beautiful; the glory of all things glorious; yea, who is the form of every form; the life

of

of all lives; that one eternal root and seed, out of which all other seeds and roots do originally spring. And all that multiplicity, diversity, contrariety, which is seen in things here below, do meet, in the greatest simplicity and unity, in him: for it is unity that brought forth plurality, and all plurality is eminently comprehended in unity."

Sermon, before Lord Mayor, by Mat. Barker, 1651.

"There are two great spiritual corporations: the one is, that whereof Christ is the head; the other is, the corporation of hell, whereof the devil is the prince. Now all men, let them be of what profession they will, if they be not under Christ the head, they belong to another corporation; and their external visible profession alters not their spiritual relation. A lump of lead, whilst it is in the lump, it is a lump of base metal, called lead; melt this, and mould it into the form of a beast, what is it then?—it is but a leaden beast; melt it, and mould it again into the form of a man—it is but a leaden man; melt it, and mould it again into the form of an angel—it is but a leaden angel: so, I say, take a carnal man, an unregenerate man, he is a carnal man, whilst he professeth no religion. Suppose him, then, to profess himself a Protestant at large, he is but a carnal Protestant. Suppose him, next, to join himself into some church order—let him join with those that are called of the presbyterian way, he is a carnal Presbyterian. Take him off from that,

put

put him into the congregational way, what is he then?—a carnal congregational man. Join him next, if you will, to those who deny our baptism, he is then but a carnal Anabaptist; he is still a carnal, an ungodly man, belonging to the corporation of Satan, whatsoever his outside be; and know ye all for certain, that no bastard, no Gibeonite, no hypocrite, no man unconverted, what gifts soever he may have amongst men, he is no member of the church of Christ, unless the spirit of Christ be in him."

S. Marshall, D.D. before Lord Mayor, 1652.

"Sincere self-resignation is resolved upon deliberation, and not a rash inconsiderate promise, which is afterwards reversed. The illuminated see that perfection in God, that vanity in the creature, that desirable sufficiency in Christ, and emptiness in themselves, that they firmly resolve to cast themselves on him, and be his alone; and though they cannot please him as they would, they will die before they will change their master; but with self-deceivers it is not thus."

"How long hath England rebelled against his (Christ's) government! Mr. Udal told them, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, that if they would not set up the discipline of Christ in the church, Christ would set it up himself in a way that would make their hearts ache. I think their hearts have ached by this time; and as they judged

judged him to the gallows for his prediction, so hath Christ executed them by thousands for their rebellion against him; and yet they are as unwilling of his government as ever. The kings of the earth are afraid lest Christ's government should unking them. The rulers are jealous lest it will depose them from their dignities; even the reformers, that have adventured all to set it up, are jealous, lest it will encroach upon their power and privileges. Kings are afraid of it, and think themselves but half kings, where Christ doth set up his word and discipline. Parliaments are afraid of it, lest it should usurp their authority. Lawyers are afraid of it, lest it should take away their gains, and the laws of Christ should overtop the laws of the land. The people are afraid of it, lest it will compel them to subjection to that law and way which their souls abhor. Indeed, if men may be their own judges, then Christ hath no enemies in England at all; we are his friends, and all good Christians."

Sermons by Richard Baxter, preached 1654.

"God in his word hath given the ingredients; that's the garden of simples. Now the gospel minister, he gathers the simples, looks up the promises, or other useful portions of Scripture, and compounds them, and judgeth concerning the application of them to this or that soul; thus he spreads a plaister. 'Tis true, when all this is done, God's hand must make it stick to the soul;

soul; but yet thus he is an helper, Christ is the physician; the balm of Gilead is his, and he is the physician there; but the minister of the gospel is his apothecary."—"No gentleman leaves his park without a keeper, but when he hath a design to dispark it. When God takes away the dressers of his vineyard, the guides of his church, it is much to be feared, he is about throwing down the hedge, and breaking up his church, and this is very sad."

Funeral Sermon for J. Carter, 1655,
by J. Collings, B. D.

"'Tis in the world as 'tis in a comedy; there are several actors that have their several parts, which when they have acted they go off from the stage, and others come on: thus 'tis here with men upon the stage of the world, in the acting of their several parts as to service; God hath this business for that man, this for another; the magistrate is to do so much, the minister to do so much; when they have done, then the all-disposing providence of God removes them, and others are raised up in their room, to bear up the name of God, and to be the instruments of his glory."

Sermon at St. Paul's, 1656, by T. Jacomb.

"The blood of Christ is a heart-chearing thing. Its the only foundation and the only preserver of true joy. It will make the heart merry in adversity: it will create laughter in heaviness. Christ's blood is the only medicine for spiritual melancholy.

choly. When the church was drinking in Christ's wine-cellar, taking down this blood, how was her heart cheared!"

"The sick sinner useth Christ uncivilly, discourteously: he frowns on him, he shuts the door on him, he reviles him: he beats him, stones him, and yet the physician will not depart; though he seems to be angry, and to withdraw for a time, yet returns again. Christ will put up a thousand abuses, rather than suffer one of his elect to die in their sins. Though Christ see that we throw his physic in his face, that we tear and burn his bills in his presence, that we send for empyrics, and prefer their advice before his, yet he waits with patience, and will not be driven away by the worst usage."

Sermons by Ralph Robinson, 1656.

"The crab in the fable having wounded the serpent to death, in recompence of his crooked life, and at last perceiving him to streak out himself, *At oportuit sic vixisse* (saith he), it is too late now, thou shouldst have lived so; ye may easily add the moral, *Væ illis* (saith St. Ambrose), *qui tunc habuerunt terminum luxuriæ, cum vitæ.* Woful is the case of those procrastinating sinners whose lives and lusts have their ends together."

Sermon at Bow Church, 1657, by Isaac Craven.

"And now, give me leave to speak a few things to you; first, as you are men, citizens, and

and Christians; secondly, as you are (many of you) in a more publick capacity, magistrates and governors. First, as men, Christians, &c. let justice and mercy be written in capital letters in all your hearts; and let this be every one of your mottos, 'Do justly, love mercy:' let this be as a seal upon your heart, as a seal upon your right arm. Then shall this great city be called the City of Righteousness, a faithful city. Ye can never consult so well for your interest and advantage as by this. There are the strongest arguments for it in the world; it is *good*, and *good* for you."

Sermon before Lord Mayor, 1657, by J. Wells, B. D.

"Again, thou shalt have none but a company of damned souls, with an innumerable company of devils, to keep company with thee. While thou art in this world, the very thoughts of the devil's appearing to thee, makes thy flesh to tremble, and thine hair ready to stand upright on thy head. But O! what wilt thou do, when not only the supposition of the devil's appearing, but the real society of all the devils in hell will be with thee, howling and roaring, shrieking and roaring, in such a hideous manner, that thou wilt even be at thy wit's ends, and be ready to run stark mad again for anguish and torment!"

Bunyan's Groans of a Damned Soul.

"In this case of unavoidable differences amongst good men, there ought to be mutual charity,

charity, meekness, moderation, tolerance, humanity, used; not to judge, despise, reject, insult over one another; not to deal with our weaker brethren as with aliens, but as with brethren; not to proceed presently unto separation, rejection, anathematization, but to restore those that are overtaken with any error with the spirit of meekness."

Sermon before a Convention of Parliament, by E. Reynolds, D. D. 1657.

"I have observed it amongst Christians in our days, that one day such an opinion being abroad, you shall have one tampering with that, and there he drops a little of his spirituality; by and by with another, and there he drops a little more; then another, there too he drops a little more; till in the end his spirituality (I mean that spiritual frame of heart which before he had) is quite lost; which being gone, he is like another man, as peevish, foolish, light-spirited, as any."

Tillingham's Elijah's Mantle, 1658.

"Sometimes the unseasonable opposing of an error doth but increase it; the water which would slide away without any noise, if it be dammed up, rises and becomes considerable; that fire which would go out if let alone, being stirred and agitated becomes a great flame."

Sermon before Ireton, Lord Mayor, 1659, by J. Templer, B. D.

"What

"What if now the house should fall? What if my foot should slip? What if I should be troden under foot in this press, or drowned in this sweat? What if the boat should overturn, or the horse should throw me? What would become of me if my meat should choak me, or my drink should quench my life? What then! If I be not well provided, I go down in a moment to hell.

"He would be accounted a wise man who had an art by a penny to raise an estate of many thousand pounds. But he is far wiser, and hath a greater reach, who by the good use of this moment, obtains the inheritance of angels, yea of the Son of God, gets possession of the ever-living good, and settles himself in the joys of a never-dying life."

Funeral Sermon of S. Jacomb, B. D. by S. Patrick, B. D. 1659.

"Let him look to it, that withholdeth more than is meet: this is the more likely man of the two to be found shortly on a dunghill. If thou wilt secure thyself from beggary, keep not God's beggars from thy door; nor send them away empty whose needs, though not their tongues, cry in thine ears, 'Give, for the Lord's sake.' Fear not to loose by laying out. Thy laying up what thou shouldst lay out hath the most danger in it. The divine curse may wither that in thine hand which thou holdest fast against the divine command."

Sermon by T. Gouge, 1673.

The upright man. "He is a hearty enemy to all factions in religion, as knowing the life and soul of Christianity is often eaten out by them. All dividing principles he abhors; and as much as he loves truth, he is not less concerned for peace. And he is better pleased with one instance of his charity in composing, or his zeal in suppressing, religious differences, than with twenty of his skill and abilities in disputing them; for he knows that love is more acceptable to God than a right opinion; and to be a martyr rather than divide and rend the church, is not less glorious than to be a martyr for refusing to offer sacrifices to idols."

Archbishop Sharp's Sermons, 1680.

"If to be carried away with every vanity and whimsy, to be swayed by every unreasonable humour and lust, to be a slave to every man's frolic and bent, to try the utmost strength of our bodies, to run a course of all diseases, to undergo all reproach and infamy, to spend our estates and time in pursuit of short life, rotten bones, and wretched poverty; if this be pleasure. then for certain there is enough of it to be found in a dissolute and vitious life."

Sermon before W. III. by Ben. Calamy, D. D.

"To introduce self-murder with an act of worshipping God, how monstrous is this! To own God by prayer, and to affront him by murder; and

and to make the one preparatory to the other To pray for pardon before, and commit the sin after; to repent before the sin, and then sin upon that repentance! What prodigious absurdities are there in wickedness! None is so much a monster as a sinner, who is a moral monster. This way of preparing for death, when death is self-murder, is astonishing, is enough to confound the reason of mankind."

Sermon on Self-murder, by J. Jeffery, D. D. 1702.

"Those whom Providence has placed in a lower sphere in the world, whose chief solicitude is to provide for the hard exigencies of a miserable life, must have their minds as humble and narrow as their fortunes; and owe the little improvement of both to the condescension of their superiors, and consequently think and act as they are directed, at second-hand."

Sermon by H. Sacheverell, 1704.

"Whence come wars and fightings, the burning of cities, and the desolation of countries? What is the reason that, as Tully observes, Mankind are the most fatal enemies to each other, that all the famines and earthquakes, the plagues and inundations, all the accidents of nature, and the scourges of heaven, have not swept away so many lives, nor made such ravage and devastation, as the sword? Why, it is ambition which hath occasioned all this ruin and barbarity; it is

empire, and that they call glory. It is to get the power to enslave and destroy, to be more mighty to do mischief, which pushes the Nimrods of the earth to these acts of violence."

Sermon by Jer. Collier, M. A. 1725.

"Whose power was it that framed this beautiful and stately fabric, this immense and spacious world? That stretched out the north over the empty place, and hanged the earth upon nothing? That formed those vast and numberless orbs of heaven, and disposed them into such regular and uniform motions? That appointed the sun to rule the day, and the moon and the stars to govern the night? That so adjusted their several distances as that they should neither be scorched by heat, nor destroyed by cold? That encompassed the earth with air, so wonderfully contrived, as at one and the same time to support clouds for rain, to afford winds for health and traffick, to be proper for the breath of animals by its spring, for causing sounds by its motion, for transmitting light by its transparency? That fitted the water to afford vapours for rain, speed for traffick, and fish for nourishment and delicacy? That weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance; and adjusted them in their most proper places for fruitfulness and health? That diversified the climates of the earth into such an agreeable variety, that in that great

difference,

difference, yet each one has its proper seasons, day and night, winter and summer? That clothed the face of the earth with plants and flowers, so exquisitely adorned with various and inimitable beauties, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of them? That replenished the world with animals, so different from each other in particular, yet all in the whole so much alike? That framed with exquisite workmanship the eye for seeing, and other parts of the body necessarily in proportion; without which no creature could have long subsisted? That beyond all these things, endued the soul of men with far superior faculties, with understanding, judgment, reason, and will; with faculties whereby, in a most exalted manner, God teaches us more than the beasts of the field, and makes us wiser than the fowls of heaven?"

Sermon by S. Clarke, D. D. 1730.

"It is undoubtedly in the power of every clergyman, as such, to do a great deal of good; and according as he is able, he is required to do it. As bad as the world is (and God knows it is bad enough), yet still the ministers of Christ are not despised merely for being so. Let them behave themselves as they should do, act in character, deserve respect, and they will seldom fail of it. Then those only will despise them, by whom, really, they should chuse to be despised."

Sermon by John Doughty, M. A. 1740.

"Truth

"Truth and falsehood have the relation to each other of good and evil; and this is an essential difference, as we may learn from hence, that truth is the attribute of God, and consequently an essential good, and its opposite, falsehood, must be likewise an essential evil; so that there always is evil where there is not truth. Truth likewise is a part of natural justice which we owe to one another; for whenever we lie to our neighbour, we lead him into wrong notions, either of persons or things; and mistakes in either kind may prove prejudicial to him: so that to speak truth to our neighbour is a branch of that justice by which we are obliged to do no man any wrong."

Sermon by Bishop Sherlock, 1755.

"Our Saviour compares his doctrine to a treasure; and such it certainly is to all who find and diligently obey it. But there is this peculiarity in it, that the more it is communicated to others, the more enjoyment we have from it ourselves. Its good effects return upon us in proportion as it is more plentifully imparted to others; and our satisfactions are increased by conveying it to other people."

Sermon by Bishop Cornwallis, 1756.

"Why, say you, these Methodists are presumptuous people: they can tell us whether we are to go to heaven or no. Good Mr. Rogers, a Welsh Boanerges, preaching in the mountains, said,

said, 'Christ is heaven, if I worship God here, and do all to God, and for God, without any hopes of reward upon the earth.' My dear brethren, the devils would never be troubled with such a wretch in hell, he would set all hell in an uproar. If a true methodist was to go to hell, the devil would say, Turn that methodist out, he is come to torment us; therefore you must be converted, if you will go to heaven. — My friends wanted me to mount the church betimes, they wanted me to knock my head against the pulpit too young; but how some young men stand up here and there and preach, I don't know how it may be to them; but God knows how deep a concern entering into the ministry and preaching was to me; I have prayed a thousand times till the sweat has dropped from my face like rain, that God, of his infinite mercy, would not let me enter the church before he called me to, and thrust me forth in his work."

Sermon by G. Whitefield, M. A. 1769.

"Some have carried their public-spiritedness too far, and piqued themselves on manifesting good-will to their fellow-creatures by undertakings out of their province, and even beyond their abilities; while their proper neighbours, those with whom they had close connexions, and their proper business, that which their circumstances bound them to mind, were disregarded: an injudicious

dicious conduct, when it proceeds from the best intentions; but highly blameable, if vanity, or a meddling temper, be the source of it: on which head these persons would do well to examine themselves. But the far more ordinary fault is the opposite one—narrowing the bounds of our friendly disposition, and excluding those from the benefit of being our neighbours who have a right to it."

Secker's Sermons, 1770.

"God, the great father of the world, of his immense bounty, has created you a reasonable being, has given you powers and faculties elevated far above the animal world, capable of the noblest enlargement, capable of the knowledge of him, of nature, of yourselves; capable of producing all those fruits of good science and good practice, which are the dignity, the ornament, the prerogative, of your race. And can you weakly and vainly suppose, that there is no duty incumbent upon you to improve and to enlarge those faculties? If so, they are given you in vain; and you are insensible of that which is the distinguishing excellence of your nature."

Dodd's Sermons, 1771.

"For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. *Text.* — Now, if such be the sense of the words, they contain the fullest and most decisive proof of that tremendous doctrine, the eternity of future punishments,

nishments, which is any where to be met with in Scripture. For the words, being given as a reason and explanation of the doctrine, are not susceptible of any vague interpretation, like the words eternal or everlasting, in which it is usually expressed; but must necessarily be understood as implying and affirming the literal truth of the thing, for which they would account. And, this being supposed, you see the use, the unspeakable importance of this text, as addressed to all believers in Jesus."

Sermon by Bishop Hurd, 1773.

"Infidelity, which of late hath spread itself through all orders of men, the lowest not excepted. This article of charge needs no proof: for, besides the multitude of professed infidels, who grasp at the character as a title of honour, and even struggle beyond the bounds of moderation to obtain it; besides these, I say, the growing disregard of the ordinances of religion, the total neglect and disuse of them by some, and the hypocritical abuse, and formal ineffectual attendance upon them by others, are fatal proofs of the prevalence of infidelity; and plainly shew, that the generality even of those who retain the Christian name, do either in their hearts reject the gospel as false; or, which comes to the same purpose, reckon it a matter of small importance whether the gospel be true or not."

Sermon by Robert Walker, 1775.

"How

"How much of the short life is worn away in a tedious preparation for one hour's stately appearance in this sacred place! And how much of that part of the short life is ruffled and discomposed, by taking too much 'thought what they shall put on, or wherewithal they shall be clothed!' With what pains and skill, and overstudied exactness, and expence of precious time, are all their ornaments disposed and adjusted! And with what excessive vanity and affectation are they afterwards drawn forth and displayed! How watchful are they to attract improper deference, unseasonable respect! How forward to hope for, and how ready to accept, universal homage and obeisance! How nice, how elegant, how artful, in the various positions of the body! In what diversity of lights are these pictures set, in order to be viewed at different points of light, and to demand the looks, the thoughts, the contemplations, the whole attention of the beholders!"

Sermon by Ric. Newton, D. D. published 1784.

"When by attention we discover any wrong inclination prompting us to action, the rule of keeping the heart requires us instantly to stop and refuse compliance, whatever effort it may cost us. As it is by repeated indulgence that wrong inclinations become fixed habits and dispositions of the heart, so it is by repeated refu-

sals

sals to comply with them that they must be driven from their seat, and their power and influence be dissolved. When any wrong inclination is discovered, it must, I say, be instantly rejected. Doubt and hesitation, in a plain case, are dangerous, and commonly fatal to our virtue. Our safety lies in an absolute and instantaneous refusal to gratify such inclinations, whenever they are perceived. And it is to be observed, that vicious inclinations, though thus once and again repressed, will continue to rise, upon renewed provocation and temptation, like enemies accustomed to victory, who, though defeated, will often return to the charge, till their force be quite spent."

Sermon by Dr. Drysdale before 1785.

"Did you only preserve yourself composed for a moment, you would perceive the insignificancy of most of those provocations which you magnify so highly. When a few suns more have rolled over your head, the storm will have of itself subsided; the cause of your present impatience and disturbance will be utterly forgotten. Can you not, then, anticipate this hour of calmness to yourself; and begin to enjoy the peace which it will certainly bring? If others have behaved improperly, leave them to their own folly, without becoming the victim of their caprice, and punishing yourself on their account. Patience, in this exercise of it, cannot

be

be too much studied by all who wish their life to flow in a smooth stream. It is the reason of a man, in opposition to the passion of a child. It is the enjoyment of peace, in opposition to uproar and confusion."

Sermon by Dr. H. Blair, vol. iii. 1790.

"Of all the methods of avoiding the contagion of vice in the juvenile periods, none is more effectual than a resolution to avoid bad company. It has been confirmed by unerring experience, that a young man cannot mix with corrupt associates without catching their corruption. Indeed the very choice of such society is a proof that there already subsists an inherent propensity to assimilate their manners. Where this is the case, degeneracy and ruin are scarcely to be avoided. But let all those who really wish to preserve their innocence be most anxiously cautious in selecting the persons with whom they intend to continue an intercourse. Let them attend to the general voice, respecting the characters of those into whose society they are likely to be introduced. The characters of most men, so far as their general conduct is concerned, are, for the most part, known with sufficient accuracy."

Sermon by V. Knox, D. D. 1792.

"Some people, one should suppose from their behaviour, are solicitous to know what degree of goodness will carry them to heaven; as if they

did

did not wish to be a scruple better than they need be. I should verily doubt whether such nice calculators have any religion at all. It is plain, that they wish not to have more than is absolutely necessary: and I think a man can have very little religion unless he wishes to have as much as he can. God Almighty has not balanced things in this light manner; at least, he keeps this matter among the secrets of eternity. The rule he gives us is, 'Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect;' that is, Do the best you can yourselves, and then trust God through the merits of Christ. God will chuse such for his servants as follow this rule the best."

Sermon by W. Gilpin, 1799.

THE QUAKERS, OR FRIENDS.

GEORGE FOX, the son of respectable parents, residents at Drayton, in Leicestershire, was apprenticed to a shoemaker, dealer in wool, and grazier, and at the age of 20 laid the foundation of the Society of Friends or Quakers, which produced a superstructure altogether unparalleled in the history of religion; one which has effected a complete revolution in the manners and habits of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of England, and had nearly established an empire of its own in North America. Mr. Clarkson accounts most correctly for the success this youthful preacher

preacher met with, in his Portraiture of Quakerism. "There was a great number of persons in the kingdom (1643) who, approving neither of the religion of the establishment, nor of that of the different denominations alluded to, withdrew from the communion of every visible church. These were ready to follow any teacher who might inculcate doctrines that coincided with their own apprehensions." The account given of his progress through several counties, where he constantly argued and taught, exhibits a melancholy picture of the unsettled gloomy state of the public mind; but it is very evident from his manner of proceeding, that priests, professors, magistrates, and people, were not at that time persecutors, or it is evident his career would soon have ended, not, as it was sometimes interrupted, through stoning, sitting in the stocks, and the prison, but at the stake or gallows; for he most unjustifiably interrupted the progress of divine service, for the purpose of inculcating his own reveries and conceptions of various passages in the Scriptures.

I have hitherto said nothing of the manners of the *Friends*, as they are distinct from those of every other class of society, and because they actually form part of their religion. Their particular religious opinions do not come under my review; I shall, therefore, merely endeavour to exhibit the Quaker as he appears to the common observer.

observer. It is said, they received the term Quakers from Mr. Bennet, a justice of the peace for the town of Derby, who, having been warned by Fox to tremble at the word of the Lord, was himself called a Quaker or trembler. This may or may not be the fact; but he that thinks proper to visit a meeting, when the Spirit has prompted a sermon, will perceive other reasons for the distinction.

The undaunted front of that enthusiast commanded attention from the weak and wavering of every sect, who were at all times ready to defend his cause, which had much novelty to recommend it. We cannot, in consequence, be surprised, that Fox, at the age of 28, was so far intoxicated with success as to suppose that he received a divine impulse on Pendle hill, Yorkshire; whence he beheld hosts of people in extatic vision, who were to become proselytes to his doctrines. An hundred arguments have, and will be brought to prove, that he was the actual bearer of a commission from the Creator, especially directed to him for the accomplishment of a total revolution in church and state; I add *state*, for it was utterly impossible that *his* tenets, and the customs of governors and priests, could exist together. A man thus impelled by an authority, which ought in all cases to be irresistible, could mean nothing less than a complete change in all things. Hence those who were not convinced by the arguments

of

of himself and the sixty preachers he had appointed before his death, were reduced to the alternative of quietly acquiescing in their opinions, or denying the truth of his assertion, that the Divinity prompted and supported him.

That Fox and his teachers acted from pure motives is extremely probable; and that his life was innocent and amiable in all his private relations is admitted by his most strenuous opposers; but it was shocking in the Quakers to say, those persons died miserable and untimely deaths through their opposition. The pretensions he made, or was attributed to him, of healing the sick by miracle, and foretelling events by prophecy, deserved reprobation and punishment, and demonstrated that the majority were perfectly correct in denying the assumed origin of his mission.

That I may be justified in what I have advanced, I beg leave to cite the very words of George Fox, which contributed their part in deranging the faculties of his admirers. "*For truly when I was in Lancaster prison, I looked out of the bars of the window in the tower, and saw the angel of the Lord God, with his drawn glistering sword, shaking it over this nation, to execute God's vengeance, and the court was all as a flaming fire; and this I saw before the beginning of the Dutch war, before the plague, and before the fire.*"

Fox's Warning.

A few

A few extracts from Fox's "Something, in answer to all such as falsely say, the Quakers are no Christians," will explain the nature of his attacks on the Church of England. "We are built upon Christ Jesus, the true rock and foundation:" hence he denies his followers were "a branch from any sect." "Oaths and swearing in the time of the Old Testament were lawful; but Christ in his New Testament forbids all oaths and swearing." "If we swear, contrary to the express command of Christ and the Apostles, we go contrary to the express command of Christ and the Apostles: we go contrary to true Christianity." "We would not pay tythes, Easter reckonings, and Midsummer dues, Peter pence, *and repairing of their (so called) churches or temples*, which *they call the House of God.*" "And hath not this bag, and staff, and tythes, and Easter reckonings, and Midsummer dues, *and these temples with the cross at the end of them*, and which *they call* the house of God, been set up by the Papists, who have erred from the true Christ and his command, that was in the Apostles days, and is now." "We deny that natural tongues and arts, which they learn at the schools and colleges, do make ministers of Christ Jesus; and they must be distinguished by white coats or black coats, or tippets, or hoods, and be called masters, or lord bishops, and popes holiness." "We will not sprinkle infants, and sign them

with the sign of the cross, and have god-fathers and god-mothers." "Another thing they say, We deny the sacrament of the Lord's Supper." "And do you not find fault with us, because we do not hear the organs, and praying by a set prayer made ready to our hands." "And is there not respect of persons amongst you, because of the gold ring and gay clothing; and doth not James reprove such? And because we do not observe days, and months, and times, and years, and Christmas and Easter and Whitsun-tide, and other holydays, as you call them, therefore you say we are not Christians."—I beg leave to conclude this list of dissentients with one paragraph more. "So here Christ set up the true worship, above 1600 years ago, in the spirit and in the truth; and therefore every man and woman must come to the spirit and truth of God in their own hearts, by which they must know the God of truth, who is a spirit, before they can worship him in spirit and truth;" which is intended to prove the whole world to have been in error till George Fox received the divine command to reform all men. "And if all Christendom had kept to this worship, that Christ set up above 1600 years ago, then they would not *have invented* so many worships, and *persecuted about them.* And this is the worship we own."

Now, it is very plain that every Christian sect believes itself to be *exclusively* in the right, though

though in most instances they agree in the charitable belief, that each may obtain salvation by moral lives and strict piety; it followed therefore as a necessary consequence, that every sect in England considered Fox and his adherents in the wrong, and himself as one of the *inventors* of worships he condemned. Through this circumstance all men were against them, and they censured and reviled in return, but were unable to punish; and therefore we are yet to learn whether persecution attaches to original Quakerism. Were we to argue from the invincible spirit of obstinacy with which they endured "tryals of mockings, scourgings, and imprisonments, and stonings," for violating the sanctity of religious rites in all places of worship but their own, for writing insolent letters to priests, magistrates, the Protector, and the King, and returning to the charge with redoubled zeal the moment they escaped coercion, we must find a result *strongly tending* to that spirit which prepared the fire for heretics.

He that undertakes to accomplish any particular point, contrary to the general opinion of mankind, must expect opposition and resentment, nor has he the slightest reason to complain, if he becomes the victim of his pertinacity; and this was precisely the case with the Quakers. But, far from admitting the above principle, they complained loudly of *the persecution they received*

for persecuting; and could not bear the idea of being denied the title of Christians, when they had actually pronounced every man in existence, not admitted into their sect, *to be unworthy of the name, and mere pagans or idolaters.* Nothing could be more oppressive and wicked than the attempt to suppress their meetings; at the same time, it was perfectly justifiable in George Fox to enter what church he pleased, there to interrupt the service, and contradict every thing the preacher advanced. In a defence of the people called Quakers, published in 1699, in which the writer examines the Relation of the West Dereham conference, issued by the Clergy of Norfolk, it is said:

"Relation, p. 4.—They told us, we are going about most *uncharitably to damn them all.*

"Animadversion.—*And so they were*; but that neither was nor is in their power to do, thanks be to God through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They have indeed invaded the regal power of Christ, and taken upon them to bind and loose, as though they were the successors of Peter; but wherein do they truly succeed him? *Is it not rather in denying of his master,* than in owning of him; *for they neither appear to us to follow him in faith, doctrine, humility, or patience, nor in any other characters of that penitent and self-denying apostle and minister of Christ.*"

Admit

Admit the Clergy and their opposers generally to have been scurrilous and abusive to the utmost against the sect, was the above language derived from the spirit and truth of God; or had the writer or writers, in the words of Fox, "come to the spirit and truth of God in their own hearts?" Does the New Testament offer a single text from the lips of Christ of the above description. If this is the fact, where is the superiority of manners produced by original Quakerism? "But our defence against them is," continues the meek author, "the shield of faith, which is able to quench all the fiery darts of the devil."

The same work contains several letters that passed between Henry and John Meriton, and Laurence Parke, three clergymen who proposed a disputation to the Quakers in West Dereham church: one of those from the priests compliments the Quakers for discontinuing "that tinkerly language, 'greedy dogs, Babylon's merchants, devil-driven dungy gods, witches, bloodhounds, Sodomites, gimcracks, wheelbarrows, and tatterdemalions,' applied to the clergy; and as the charge is not denied by Ashby, Hubbard, Phillips and Case, the "Friends," there cannot be a doubt those vile terms were applied to the priesthood generally; and which were a counterpart to the commencement of "An Answer to the Certificate of the Inhabitants of West Dereham," &c. "Whereas they say that West Dereham is an

exceeding

exceeding small salary for a minister, which discouraged most men from supplying the cure," &c.

"Let it be observed, that had the salary been greater, it is likely it had not wanted a supply to the cure: so that a greater salary, a greater inducement; a little salary, a little inducement; and no salary, no inducement at all: according to the old proverb, 'No money, no *cure*;' or, 'no penny, no paternoster.' But is this a mark of a true minister? or is it not directly contrary to Christ's word and commands? Mat. x. 7, 8."

Such were the manners of the Quakers before 1700; and as the quotations I have given are indisputable authorities, we must admit, in common honesty, that the profession of Quakerism had not then mended the *inward* man, however the exterior might have assumed the appearance of gravity and humility.

A few specimens from two folio volumes, printed in 1753, and sent *officially* in 1804 as a *present* to Sion College; with what *motives* the *Clergy of that College* could not be ignorant, entituled, "A Collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers from 1650 till the passing of the Toleration Act, 1689."

"In the same year 1655, George Bayley, for speaking to the people in the *steeple-house* of the parish called St. Giles's in the fields, after the priest had ended his sermon and prayer, was sent to New Prison, and three days after removed

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to Newgate, where he lay three weeks till the sessions, when no accuser appeared against him, and the court seemed willing to discharge him; but demanded of him a submission and acknowledgement of his offence. He answered that he could not do so without hypocrisy; because his conscience did not accuse him of any offence. This innocent boldness they called obstinacy, and thereupon required sureties of his good behaviour; for refusing which they sent him to Bridewell, where he was above ten weeks."

In 1659, John Tysoe, when at one of the meetings of his own brethren, in Brentford, "*fell under a great concern of mind to go to the steeple-house there, where* he began *to exhort the people to repentance* and the fear of the Lord." This man met with summary punishment—was put in the stocks, and finally sent to Newgate.

After the Restoration, we are informed, many Quakers were sent to prison; and, speaking of Newgate, the compiler of this work says, from a den of thieves it had become an house of prayer and preaching. In the 398th page of the first volume it is acknowledged, that two of the persons who had died during their imprisonment were conveyed to the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, for the purpose of making a public funeral triumph; but the Lord Mayor Bateman issued his warrant to the parish officers of St. Anne

and

and St. Agnes, commanding them to seize the bodies, and bury them in the church-yard, which they performed.

"On the 11th of the same month (September), 1664, the Lord Mayor, Alderman Brown, the Sheriffs, and several officers and watchmen, came to the Bull and Mouth meeting, (where, it should be observed, they had before been expelled, and actually held their meeting opposite the door in the street.) The Mayor, at his entrance, expressed himself thus: 'You have been warned several times not to meet here; but, if it please God, I will try whether your obstinacy or the law shall take place.' Then he ordered his officers to bring the persons assembled severally before him; and he committed 83 of them to Newgate for the first and second, and 22 for the third offence. Among these was Mary Boreman, who being asked by Alderman Brown, What was her name? answered, 'You may instead of my name write thus,—Afflict not the widow and the fatherless, and then when you look over the roll you may see your duty'." If this statement may be credited, Mary Boreman received a severe and unmanly kicking from the Alderman, and a blow on the mouth with his fist.

The fact of their enduring imprisonment, even for years, rather than pay tythes, although they amounted but to a few shillings in the first instance, remains the same in many cases up to the present

present moment; but it would be unjust and untrue to apply the same censures to the modern Quakers which attach to the conduct of the early professors of the sect; censures that so decidedly arise from their intemperate zeal in attempting to force their doctrines into the very churches, that I trust every candid member of the persuasion will agree with me in my animadversions. Each individual upon earth enjoys a right to think as he pleases on religious subjects; and I sincerely congratulate the Society of Friends on their having *established* a system of manners agreeable to themselves. That the *simplicity* of living they adopt accords not with the ideas of the majority is by no means an argument against the system in their estimation, though it would perhaps be quite as well if some parts of it were amended, so as to render a large body of people a little more useful in bearing the burthen of the personal defence of the Empire.

The Quaker rejects, from the best of all motives, dice, cards, cock-fighting, horse-racing, and all bets or risks on contingencies; consequently buying and selling in the stocks, or stock-jobbing, and any encouragement of lotteries, is forbidden by the regulations of the Society. In these particulars, thousands professing other religious opinions agree with them, and ten times as numerous a body as the Quakers decidedly reprobate the above modes of wasting health, spirits, time, and fortune.

fortune.—The reasons assigned by the Friends and their advocates on this head are so obvious, that every thinking mind must anticipate their recital; and yet how many excellent and amiable characters use cards without either ruffling their tempers or in the smallest degree affecting their fortunes!

Musick, which the Quaker also condemns, and will not permit in his family, is a gift from nature, inherent in the soul; hence the propensity is extremely difficult to suppress. In this instance, it is impossible to adopt their sentiments without resigning the most delightful and innocent gratification offered to mankind: we might as well argue against the use of bread, because a man *may* eat too much of it, as against musick, because it excites emulation, and occupies time. The person who is so weak as to suffer pleasure to usurp the hours which ought to be devoted to industry will soon feel the effects of adversity; and if they do not produce amendment, he cannot be possessed of common sense. But why are the rich, who ought not to labour, to be forbidden the "concord of sweet sounds?" Surely every master of a family has it in his power to restrain too great a devotion to this science in its members. The Quakers call musick a sensual gratification: so is eating: no man can pretend to say he does not feel gratified at the approach of the dinner hour, in a greater proportion when it is composed of several

several pleasant viands, than he would were it to be nothing more than bread and water, which will support animal life. The Quaker, therefore, surrounded by his family, and with plenty of meat and vegetables before them, surely equals in sensuality the rest of the world in their musical indulgences. Many songs of a reprehensible tendency are sung by the unthinking and immoral: those should be burned by common consent: others perfectly moral, and sacred poetry, should not be condemned with them, merely through strained speculative opinions.

The Quaker is almost the only being in existence who denies that vocal and instrumental musick contributes strongly in aid of devotion. The rigid Puritans of the 17th century sung psalms, though they expelled organs from the churches; even the very Savages chaunt religious strains; and perhaps these are the very reasons why Quakers do not sing, or use musical instruments. They cannot persuade me to believe both are not highly acceptable to their ears; indeed, they must forgive me when I say, I have heard the sonorous voice of Nicholas Waln *very nearly chaunt* a sermon, and Samuel Emlen *sing* others, without naming some eminent female preachers. When Saul was possessed by an evil spirit, the sound of the harp restored him: surely this is a proof of its sublime, if not supernatural effects.

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The dislike expressed to musick is extended to every kind of theatrical entertainment: Prynne himself detested them not with more sincerity than the Quakers; unfortunately the moralist has had too much reason given him for complaint on this head, as will appear in the chapter of Amusements. No religious society can more seriously condemn than I do every shade of impropriety introduced on the Stage; nor can any candid person fail of regretting when he sees vice rendered almost agreeable by its association with many amiable qualities in the same character. However, all must allow that the British stage is now conducted with every attention to propriety, and that the Society under consideration has little to urge against it, beyond late hours, loss of time, and the expence of frequent admission; the two latter exceptions equally applying to every pursuit in their opinion not to be converted into some profit. In other words, they conceive the human mind has ample scope for contemplation in retirement, or when abroad, in observing the connection and gradations of creation. They would therefore have us suppose a person may enclose himself in a room, and there review every religious and moral obligation with more advantage and pleasure than is to be derived from listening to the flexibility of the tones of the human voice, both in singing and denoting the

passions,

passions, even including the morality which may be inculcated by a well-contrived drama.

Dancing, that innocent exercise, always the consequence of real enjoyment, is reprobated by the Quaker as beneath the dignity of our nature: that is, the Creator excites in us temporary pleasure, in order to relieve the general tædium of corroding reflections arising from causes beyond our controul, and our *dignity* commands us to spurn the excitement. Dancing, according to the Quaker, leads to vanity and pride, and thoughtlessness as to the important duties of life; "they consider them (balls) again," says Clarkson, "as powerful in the excitement of some of the *malevolent passions.*" Can it be possible that a set of friends assembled to celebrate any domestic event should *dance* themselves into a state of envy and hatred? for certainly that is the only mode in which malevolence can be produced by dancing. It is the common opinion of mankind, that evil exists in a greater proportion than good; but surely there can be nothing good in our composition if even our pleasures are subservient to the opposite affection. When dancing is made an object of intense pursuit, leading the party into expences beyond their ability, late hours, close rooms, and extreme fatigue, he or she may be pitied and censured; but there is no argument in these circumstances against dancing that can be applied beyond the excess.

Reading

Reading of novels is interdicted by the Quakers: in this case, they only agree with numbers of the members of other sects; and with still greater propriety they condemn the amusements of the field, which cannot be justified if we admit that animals have feelings, and enjoy a common right with ourselves to the produce of the earth; indeed, every humane person must applaud the Quakers for the restrictions they impose on their people as hunters.

It may be supposed that there are, in the considerable number of persons which compose the sect, many who would willingly trespass against these rules and prohibitions; and that this supposition is correct is demonstrated by the established visitations of elderly males and females, who at certain periods enter families, and very strictly examine its members as to their deviations from the paths marked to confine their progress as Quakers. A branch of my own family was not long since subject to this inquisitorial power, and to my certain knowledge it descended to such minutiæ as even disgusted the virtuous mind of my relation: for it is to be recollected, that though every thing is well meant, the visitors sometimes happen to be mere men and women, nay, and very silly men and women. When a person professing the tenets of the Society offends the laws of morality, these visiting Friends may be highly useful as monitors; but the whole system

tem strongly resembles the Roman Catholic one of auricular confession, except that the priest and the confessed do not see each other. Excommunication in both cases follows perverseness.

The divisions of meetings into yearly, half-yearly, and quarterly, is for the purpose of maintaining the regulations of the Society in their full extent; at the latter, the following queries must be answered to the sect at large. Many of them are truly excellent in their tendency; and my readers of different religious opinions will think some not quite so perfect.

" Are meetings for worship and discipline kept up, and do Friends attend them duly, and at the time appointed; and do they avoid all unbecoming behaviour therein?

" Is there among you any growth in the truth, and hath any convincement appeared since last year?

" Are Friends preserved in love towards each other; if differences arise, is due care taken speedily to avoid and discourage tale-bearing and detraction?

" Do Friends endeavour, by example and precept, to train up their children, servants, and those under their care, in a religious life and conversation, consistent with our Christian profession, in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in plainness of speech, behaviour, and apparel?

" Are

"Are Friends just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements; and are they annually advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year?

"Are Friends careful to avoid all vain sports and places of diversion, gaming, all unnecessary frequenting of taverns and other public houses, excess in drinking, and other intemperance?

"Do Friends bear a faithful *and Christian testimony* against *receiving and paying tythes, priests' demands,* and those called *church rates?*

"Are Friends faithful in their testimony against bearing arms, and *being in any manner concerned in the militia,* in privateers, letters of marque, or armed vessels, or dealing in prize goods?

"Are Friends clear of defrauding the King of his customs, duties, and excise, and of using or dealing in goods suspected to be run?

"Are the necessities of the poor among you properly inspected and relieved, and is good care taken of the education of their offspring?

"Have any meetings been settled, discontinued, or united, since last year?

"Are there any Friends prisoners for our testimonies; and if any one hath died a prisoner, or been discharged, since last year, when and how?

"*Is early care taken to admonish such as appear inclinable to marry in amanner contrary to the rules of our Society;* and *to deal with such as persist* in refusing to take counsel?

"Have

" Have you *two or more faithful Friends appointed* by the monthly meeting, *as overseers* in each particular meeting; are the rules respecting removals duly observed; and is due care taken, when any thing appears amiss, *that the rules of our discipline be timely and impartially put in practice?*

" *Do you keep a record of the prosecutions and sufferings of your members;* is due care taken to register all marriages, births, and burials; are the titles of your meeting-houses, burial-grounds, &c. duly preserved and recorded; and are all legacies and donations properly secured, and recorded, and duly applied?"

Similar proceedings take place in women's meetings.

One of the principal objects of the yearly meeting is to ascertain " Friends' sufferings" in the amount of *goods seized,* to answer demands for tythes and church dues, as they cannot *conscientiously* contribute towards the worship of God, unless that worship is performed by Quakers. Through this circumstance they generally pay six-fold the original sum, and are frequently involved in law-suits.

" In speaking of tythes and church dues," says Mr. Clarkson, " I must correct *an error that is prevalent.* It is usually understood, when *individuals suffer on these accounts, that their losses are made up by the Society at large. Nothing*

can be more false than this idea; were their losses made up on such occasions, *there would be no suffering.* The fact is, that whatever a person loses in this way *is his own total loss, nor is it ever refunded;* though, in consequence of expensive prosecutions at law, it has amounted *to the whole of the property* of those who have refused the payment of these demands. If a man were to come to poverty on this account, he would undoubtedly be supported; *but he would only be supported as belonging to the poor of the Society.*"

Another consequence of the General Meeting held in London is the yearly Epistle, which may be compared to the opening of a budget, or perhaps more correctly to an Exposé. The most amiable character this annual statement of the affairs of Friends has ever borne was the particulars of their unwearied attempt to abolish Negro slavery. The Epistles furnish a history on this subject which will ever be remembered to the honour of the Quakers. Upon an attentive examination of the discipline of Friends, it will be discovered, that it ends in an absolute system of legislation with respect to themselves. As every sect has a peculiar form of church government, the Quaker yearly meeting naturally forms that government; but it goes much farther, and takes cognizance of the intercourse between Friends, and of their actions with the rest of the world, independent

independent of their domestic conduct. The sovereign power of the yearly meeting issues prohibitory mandates, punishes crimes, imposes discipline, and appoints to offices, and is literally a republican assembly, chosen from the body of their people, without respect to riches or talents, the sole qualification being superior probity and virtue; nor doth any of the persons who act as deputies, overseers, elders, or clerks, except one, receive salary or emolument, and the debates are totally free to all present.

The Quakers, the Clergy, the students of public schools, the gentlemen of the bar, the livery companies, and beadles, are the only persons in England who wear distinctive habits; and the Quaker alone invariably maintains the same fashion. The Quaker may be known by his hat, which has a crown exactly fitting the upper part of the head, and with a broader brim than those of the rest of the world; by his neckcloth, which encircles his throat, without any visible fastening or knot; by the breast of his shirt, destitute of cambrick; by his coat rising without a collar, in general but little above the shoulders, the sadness of its colour, which, though sometimes mixed, is never dyed of a vivid colour, the absence of pocket flaps, and buttons covered with cloth or worsted; by his waistcoat with flaps and pockets, his breeches tied at the knees, and finally, his worsted hose, and shoes tied with leathern thongs:

Such is the simple dress of the genuine male Quaker. I remember the time when a preaching female appeared in a close muslin or cambric cap, tied under the chin, and a *bee-hive* bonnet, made nearly in the shape of that now called the Cottage bonnet, of wheat straw, interwoven from the sheaf, without any sort of preparation; a small cloak of black silk, and sometimes of worsted, covered the shoulders and part of the arms, a muslin neck-kerchief the neck, and a camlet gown the body:—and such was the genuine female Quaker habit.

Persons of a lively turn of mind will deviate from this excess of gravity in apparel; and it has been generally admitted that no one dresses with more taste and neatness than a young Quaker lady. The restrictions she is still compelled to observe as to variety leads her to select her silks, and cambricks, and muslins, and such other articles of dress as are permitted, from the best manufactures; therefore she is always a pattern of cleanliness and richness, nor does any portion of her dress ever appear to have been worn before. Mr. Clarkson observes respecting the Quakers, "Indeed, if there be any whose apparel would be thought exceptionable by the Society, these would be found among the rich. Money, in all societies, generally takes the liberty of introducing exceptions; nothing, however, is more true, than that even among the richest of the

the Society there is frequently as much plainness and simplicity in their outward dress as among the poor; and, where the exceptions exist, they are seldom carried to an extravagant, and never to a preposterous, extent." The men's hats are nearly the same now, except that they have stays and loops, and many of their clothes are nearly of the same shape and colour, as in the days of George Fox. The dress of the women also is nearly similar.

Were the principles of Friends universally adopted, those who now produce what are called the luxuries of life must inevitably starve; as no ingenious toys, curious inventions in furniture, sculptures, paintings, engravings, or drawings, are admitted into their houses. The elegant turn of mind, the superior talents, given to a certain portion of mankind, must be useless to those who are of this Society, as they are bound either to leave it or reject the blessing, though warm from the hands of the Creator. I have known the interior of Quaker houses *ornamented* with *pannels*, *cornices*, and *mouldings*, which the owner's principles of Quakerism would not permit him to cover with paint, because it was too worldly: the outsides, however, had their white windows and door frames, and dark coloured shutters and doors, because (though worldly) the paint preserved the wood from the weather. Under the same plea, a Turkey, the most gaudy and inelegant of all carpets,

carpets, may be used by a Quaker—for it *outlasts* all others.

In the earliest state of the new code, the Quakers gave great offence by adopting the pronoun *thou*, in addressing persons of the greatest consequence: this word, though extremely proper in a grammatical sense, was considered as a levelling term; and perhaps it might have been such, when we take into consideration the other language and proceedings of George Fox. He, however (as may be supposed), had no opportunity of deciding on the structure of languages, from the disadvantages of his situation in life; but as Erasmus, and other learned persons, recommended *thou*, it was a favourable opportunity for the Quakers to establish the word, by making it one of their singularities. Success on this head led the innovators greater lengths, and the whole circle of words underwent revision: thus we find the respectful and innocent *Sir* and *Madam* exploded for plain *Thomas*, *John*, and *Edward*, or *Friend*; and *Master*, implying superiority in one sense, though perfectly unmeaning in its general use, is not to be discovered in the Quaker vocabulary. *My Lord*, *Your Grace*, *Sir William*, is never heard from their lips; and the actual title of *King* is all they will allow to the reigning Monarch.

The Heathen names of the days gave the sect equal offence, though they well knew not one-

fifth

fifth of the community were acquainted with their derivation; and that that fifth was as little disposed to worship, or even honour Woden, Thor, and other Saxon deities, as themselves or myself. The same objection prevailing against the names of the months, they honoured the rest of the world so far as to allow that seven days composed a week, and that twelve months make a year; and as we number the days of the month, so they call Sunday *First* day, and Saturday the *Seventh;* January the *First* month, and December the *Twelfth.* Indeed William Penn carried this passion to such an excess, that he enumerated the streets of Philadelphia from East to West; but at a loss how to distinguish those from North to South from the others, if enumerated, he named them from various trees—which, in truth, have as much reference to streets as our word Thursday has to the honouring of Thor.

The Saints, with the Quakers, become *Peter, Barnabas,* and *Paul;* and they will never allow themselves to have been in *luck* or *lucky,* or *chanced,* to obtain a good bargain—and with *fortune* they have no kind of connection. Nor will they allow the name given at baptism to be a *Christian* name, though they have no objection to call it the first name bestowed in their society, without ceremony or celebration. They cavil at "Good morrow" and "Good evening," "Good day" and "Good night," *because all days and nights*

nights are equally good; and say, "How doth thee do?" and "Fare thee well."

After all that has been related of Quaker customs, it is almost superfluous to notice their total disregard of what is generally termed external marks of respect: a Quaker would perish rather than take off his hat in a church, the king's presence, in a court of justice, or a private assembly; nor would any thing tempt him to bow his body, or move his feet, for any other purpose than walking; and he never kneels but when at prayer.

Mr. Clarkson, who has certainly had the best opportunity of judging, declares the Quakers in general to be hospitable, kind, and free, to strangers; but he must allow, that the dislike they have to the usual manners of their fellow-citizens raises an eternal barrier to intimacies out of their own society. "There are," he observes, "solitary families, which having lived in places where there have been scarcely *any of their own society with whom to associate, and which having scarcely mixed with others of other denominations, except in the way of trade,* have an uncourteousness engrafted in them as it were *by these circumstances,* which no change of situation afterwards has been able to obliterate."

This rejection of almost all general society naturally confines the ideas of the Quakers: their education is limited, because a true Christian

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can have no desire to read the works of Heathens in their own languages; and philosophy only leads to vanity and presumption. Politics they very wisely dismiss from their contemplation; amusements and fashions must not be mentioned; they are to come to their point in conversation with as few words as possible; and they are expected to adhere strictly to the truth: how then is it possible Quaker society should be cheerful and pleasant, beyond the mere relation of matters of fact? Persons who lead inoffensive and moral lives must surely have secured that serenity of mind, that the little innocent, silly chat of a few friends, or of their family, cannot turn it from its course, and endanger their salvation. Indeed I cannot doubt the having secured the approbation of the Almighty, if I have performed the principal duties of the day, although my evening conversation may have turned upon Mr. Cooke or Mr. Kemble's acting, or the living or stationary beauties of Kensington garden.

If the Quakers entirely and determinedly reject detraction, censorious tales, and false reports, from their tea-tables, they are highly to be commended; and I can safely say, I have passed many a happy hour in London, and in various parts of England, where not a single Quaker was present, which were as clear from this reproach, as if excommunication from the churches of each individual had been suspended over their heads;

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and this observation naturally arises from the tempered resentment all persons must feel, on being told that the common topics are ridiculous and contemptible, though generally derived from the whole circle of science and manners.

Sometimes a company of Quakers will be engaged in one of their dignified conversations, when "sprightliness never borders upon folly," and ever appears "in an innocent and decent dress."—"You observe a pause in the conversation. This pause continues. Surprised at the universal silence now prevailing," observes Mr. Clarkson, "you look round, and find all the members in the room apparently thoughtful. The history of the circumstance is this: in the course of the conversation, the mind of some one of the persons present has been either so overcome with the weight or importance of it, or by inward suggestions on other subjects, as to have given himself up to meditation, or to passive obedience to impressions upon his mind. This person is soon discovered by the rest, on account of his particular silence and gravity. From this moment, the Quakers in company cease to converse: they become habitually silent, and continue so (both old and young), to give the apparently meditating person an opportunity of pursuing, uninterruptedly, the train of his own thoughts. Perhaps, in the course of his meditations, the subject that impressed his mind gradually dies away, and

expires

expires in silence. In this case, you find him resuming his natural position, and returning to conversation with the company as before. It sometimes happens, however, that, in the midst of his meditations, he feels an impulse to communicate to those present the subject of his thoughts, and breaks forth, seriously explaining, exhorting, and advising, as the nature of it permits and suggests. When he has finished his observations, the company remains silent for a short time; after which they converse again as before. Such a pause, whenever it occurs in the company of the Quakers, may be considered as a devotional act; for the subject which occasions it is always of a serious or religious nature. The workings in the mind of the meditating person are considered as the offspring of a solemn reflection upon that subject, suddenly and almost involuntarily, as it were, produced by duty, or as the immediate offspring of the agency of the spirit."

When a Quaker family is assembled at the dinner-table, a short pause takes place, which is intended to give those present an opportunity of reflecting on the blessing they are about to enjoy. If the head of the family feels an impulse to say a grace, he does so; if not, he introduces some conversation, and proceeds to carve: and it is the same if a minister is amongst the company; for the Quakers conceive, that they cannot even thank God

God for their comforts, unless he suggests those thanks. From very excellent motives, neither healths nor toasts are ever proposed by Friends. Indeed, the good sense of the community at large begins to have its effect on this subject; and it is sincerely to be wished, that, in imitation of the Quakers, the ladies might be permitted in future to usurp the place of the bottle.

Fox seemed to think with great propriety as to the importance of marriage; and advised the members of his sect to obtain the parental consent in the first instance, and then to explain to the monthly meetings of both sexes the particulars of the proposed union. By these means, the parties prepared the way for future happiness, by preventing opposition, and ascertaining, through the exertions of the meetings, whether any objections intervened, or made the connection improper. One regulation enforced by the society must render the situation of the young lady rather distressing; which is, the public declaration, that she intends to take —— for her husband, who makes a similar declaration in the meeting; and this is confirmed by the consent of the parents in person, or by certificate. Each meeting then appoints two members, who visit the intended pair, in order to discover whether any previous contract of marriage had been in agitation; and according to their report, the proceedings are regulated. Equal care is taken in the case of

second

second marriages, to preserve the rights of the offspring of the first. On the day of marriage, which is generally solemnized at a week-day meeting, the congregation sometimes sit in dead silence, and at others the spirit prompts a sermon. At the moment appointed, the bride and bridegroom arise; and, taking each other by the hand, pronounce their mutual intention of becoming man and wife. A declaration in writing of the usual forms observed, and a recital of the ceremony just past, is in most instances read; which is afterwards signed by the married pair, their relatives, and other Quakers present. Before the close of the same day, an acknowledgement of marriage is again signed by the parties, in the presence of three witnesses, who having also signed it, the marriage is complete and valid in law.

The male or female Quaker who ventures to marry a member of the Established Church, a Roman Catholic, or Dissenter, of whatever denomination, inevitably forfeits his or her privileges as a Friend—in other words, nothing can save them from expulsion. "No person," says Mr. Clarkson, "who marries out of the society can be legally married without going through the forms of the Established Church. Those, therefore, who submit to this ceremony, as performed by a priest, acknowledge (according to the Quakers) the validity of a human appointment of the ministry; they acknowledge the validity of an artificial

cial service in religion; they acknowledge the propriety of paying a Gospel minister for the discharge of his office. The Quakers, therefore, consider those who marry out of the society as guilty of such a dereliction of their principles, that they can no longer be considered as sound or consistent members."

If the persons thus offending should at any time think proper to assert they sincerely repent their disobedience to the regulations of Friends, or, in fact, of their marriage, and educate their children according to those regulations, they may be restored to the society and their lost privileges. But it is to be hoped few marriages of this kind are so unhappy as to oblige the offenders to declare their repentance: if any mental reservation is made in such a profession, the Friends will not be greatly benefited by the return of hypocrites.

The Quaker mode of burial is very proper and decent; ostentation on this occasion is indeed absurd: the same simple system of silence which prevails through all their customs, seems particularly commendable in the last solemn rite of life. If the privileged person who may happen to be present chooses to speak, some comments are made on the subject of death; otherwise, the grave-digger proceeds with his office, after such pauses as are required for contemplation: prayers for the souls of friends and relations are not allowed by the Quakers. Whether their obstinate

rejection

rejection "of payment for Gospel labour," and a rational and benevolent petition, uttered by a good man, is extended to the suppressing of all hope and *request mentally* for the happiness of their departed relatives, can only be known to each individual of the society: if they are successful on this point, they may be allowed the merit of self-conquest, without a prospect of competition from others.

The *weak desire* often expressed by persons near death of being deposited near the remains of their former intimates cannot be complied with in the sect of Quakers, who have not "thought it right, or wise, to indulge such feelings;" neither do they permit memorials to the dead, or wear any kind of badge, announcing the loss of their friends. In short, when a Quaker dies, there is literally no *memento* of him left, except in the mental remembrance; of which no one can judge the extent, unless he happens to be an eminent elder or preacher—then his, and sometimes her qualifications are written, and passed through the ordeal of the different meetings, and finally printed for the use of the society.

As very few of the opulent classes of the community adopted the theories of George Fox, himself and his principal successors recommended constant habits of industry to their followers: this laudable attention to the future comfort of their descendants has become a regular system; and,

and, much to their credit be it recorded, an idle and dissipated Quaker is a very uncommon character. Every method that can be devised is pursued by the rules of the sect to prevent individuals from incurring debts which may lead to embarrassments and bankruptcy: they are required to examine into their affairs annually, and this examination is enforced by visits of suitable friends. When a Quaker becomes a bankrupt through improper causes, he is expelled, but may be received again on sincere repentance; and it is understood, that no composition with creditors can exonerate him from full payments of all demands against him.

The absurdity of paying too much attention to the reform or alteration of customs often leads the conscientious Quaker into difficulties: he must infringe upon the regulations of the sect in many —very many instances, or starve. It is vain and ridiculous for any person to attempt to confine himself to the manufacture and sale of articles strictly useful and necessary, even in the case of printing and book-selling. A man may ruin himself by printing Homilies, provided they do not meet with public encouragement; yet we can hardly require a Quaker printer to tell his employer—"I cannot print your book, because it *may not* sell;" and, in the retailing of books, a work with a general good character may pass through a Quaker's hands; and yet, were it attentively

tively examined, it might contain some passages offensive to morality; even that excellent work the Spectator ought not to be sold by a Friend if he is consistent, because it abounds with recommendations of vain and frivolous pursuits in the estimation of a genuine son of George Fox. If a Quaker works as a clothier, and actually resolves to touch no other than plain broad cloths, neither dyed with blue, red, yellow, black, or purple, he cannot but remember mixed cloths of the natural colours, and deep browns, have long been and are more fashionable than any others; consequently he is administering to the extravagance of the gay and dissipated, even with the best intentions. And it is the same with articles of absolute necessity — a man may have too many coats, too many shirts and shoes, for his circumstances; and surely if a Quaker works at all as a silver and gold-smith, the utensils made of those metals are certainly unjustifiably extravagant in a rigid sense; iron is more durable, and nothing more easily cleaned than earthen ware.

These observations are not loosely offered in retaliation for the condemnation of my fellow-citizens at large in their *innocent* vanities and manners; but to shew, that the Quakers are daily obliged to commit deep trespasses on their own regulations; which may be further proved by their young ladies at this instant wearing straw bonnets, *undoubtedly in the fashion,* not one

guinea and an half *in value*, but in *price;* and elegant muslin dresses of the purest white at *four and sixpence and five shillings*, and often much more, per yard. Nothing can be more *fashionable than this dress:* yet surely when we consider the additional expence of frequent washing, it is quite as reprehensible for a Quaker female to deviate thus who does know better, as it is for a young Ignoramus of any other religious denomination who has never been taught propriety of conduct. Such are the nature of the arguments which may be urged against Quaker customs and manners; I however would apply them only to this excess and bigotry. The moralist might find in the Quaker code numerous hints, which, acted upon with temperance, would render mankind ten times more happy, free, and contented, than at present. Would to heaven all ranks could be persuaded with them to execrate quarrels, duels, war, slavery, and litigation; and adopt their method of managing their poor, who are more respectable in their appearance, and more cleanly and comfortable, than any in the kingdom! In taking leave of the Quakers, I cannot resist this opportunity of thanking the body at large, for the very important part they have acted in the vast theatre of the world by promoting the cause of virtue and honour. May they take my reprehensions in good humour, and as they are intended!

Are another product of British religious freedom. This society, which originated from the Rev. John Wesley, is so combined with the history of that gentleman, that a recital of the incidents of his life will give a satisfactory sketch of Methodism.

John Wesley, who, like Luther, Calvin, and others, founded sects upon their own speculative and peculiar opinions, was the second son of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire; and born in 1703. When only six years old, he had a most remarkable escape from death by the burning of his father's house, whence he was taken through a window the moment before the roof fell in. From this circumstance originated the application to him of the words, "Is not this a brand plucked out of the burning?" inscribed under an engraving of his portrait. This remarkable man received the Sacrament at the early age of eight, and dated the serious turn of his mind from that period. He was placed soon after at the Charter-house school, London; hard living, and the exercise he took in the garden of that foundation by the advice of his father, seems to have contributed to establish his health, and enable him to undergo the fatigues of his subsequent life.

He went from the Charter-house to Christ-church College, Oxford; received his degree of B. A., was elected Fellow of Lincoln College in 1724, and two years afterwards became a Master of Arts. His attainments in logic and the learned languages are well known; and it is recorded to his honour, that his skill in the former never tempted him to argue a question which he did not feel to be founded on truth. The church had been selected for his future profession, and when he obtained his fellowship, Mr. Wesley separated himself from those persons whose conduct might interrupt the preparation he conceived necessary for entering into orders, which were conferred on him by Dr. Potter in 1725.

He was appointed Greek Lecturer and Moderator of the Classes, and acquitted himself well as a tutor; but it was in the year 1725 that Bishop Taylor's Rules and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying affected the latent seeds of what was afterwards termed Methodism. From the instant he had completed the perusal of this work he resolved to dedicate all his life to God, being fully convinced that every part of it must be a sacrifice to him, or "*in effect to the devil.*" Kempis's Christian Pattern, and the ideas of that author on *inward* religion, Law's Christian Perfection and serious Call added fuel to the spark, and intense study of the Scriptures fanned it into the fierce flame which spread in due time throughout the

the three kingdoms and America. The first external impulse it received was through these words uttered by a serious man, who is not named: "Sir, you wish to serve God, and go to heaven: remember you cannot serve him alone: you must therefore *find* companions or *make* them: the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion."

The consequence of these observations was instantaneous, and Mr. W. communicated his thoughts to Charles Wesley his brother, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hervey, Mr. Whitefield, and others. By this means a society was formed, which is mentioned in the sketch of the life of his co-adjutor in Methodism. The associated brethren composed a scheme of self-examination, of which Coke and Moore, the authors of his life, say, it evinced their earnest sincerity; "but the darkness of their minds as to Gospel truths is very evident to those who are favoured with true evangelical views." One of the effects produced by these attempts to attain superior sanctity was the ridicule of most of the students, from whom the society obtained the terms of Sacramentarians, the Godly Club, and Methodists. The latter, however, more fairly originated with a Fellow of one of the Colleges, who compared them with an antient college of physicians at Rome, called *Methodistæ* through their peculiar mode of treating their patients. In proportion to the disgust they caused amongst the youth was the offence to the

the seniors; but both were disregarded, as the two Wesleys had the approbation of their father; to which was added that of the Bishop of Oxford, and the minister at the Castle. They then proposed a series of questions to their opponents, and were treated with silent disdain.

He remained in this state when his father, finding his health decline, wished him to solicit for the living of Epworth; but he refused, assigning no less than twenty-six arguments against the proposal. The principal cause, however, existed in his love for retirement, imbibed from certain mystic writers; and hence, in a great degree, originated his mission to America. In 1735, he was requested by his father just before his death to present a book he had published to Queen Caroline. When at London to execute this commission, Dr. Burton, one of the trustees for Georgia, proposed to him the office of preaching Christianity to the Indians in that colony. This he accepted, in opposition to the judgment of every one but his mother; and he left England in October 1735. His proceedings there being foreign to the purpose of this work, I shall merely mention, that he returned in 1738 with increased reputation, and the attraction obtained by the nature of his pursuits in the Western world. Through these circumstances, the churches where he was invited to preach were uncommonly crowded. He then went to Oxford with Peter Bohler, a celebrated Moravian,

Moravian, where he was received with contempt and ridicule. Upon a second visit to this University, and conversing largely with Bohler, he observed, "by him (in the hand of the great God) I was clearly convinced of the want of *that faith whereby alone we are saved.*" But the Moravian had some difficulty in convincing him that faith did and would operate instantaneously: being convinced, he "spoke clearly and fully at Blendon to Mr. Delamotte's family of the nature and fruits of Christian faith. Mr. Broughton and (his) brother were there. Mr. B.'s great objection was, he could never think that I had not faith, who had done and suffered such things. (His) brother was very angry, and told (him,) He did not know what mischief (he) had done by talking thus. And indeed it did please God then to kindle a fire which, I trust, shall never be extinguished."

He now every where declared "the *faith* as it is in Jesus;" and renewed the society mentioned before, though with different persons, and agreed to the following rules: "That they would meet together once a week, to confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another, that they might be healed: That the persons so meeting should be divided into several *bands*, or little companies, none of them consisting of fewer than five, or more than ten persons: That every one in order should speak as freely, plainly, and concisely,

cisely as he could, the real state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances since the last time of meeting: That all the bands should have a conference at eight every Wednesday evening, begun and ended with singing and prayer: That any who desired to be admitted into this society should be asked, What are your reasons for desiring this? Will you be entirely open, using no kind of reserve? Have you any objection to any of our orders (which may then be read)? That when any new member was proposed, every one should speak clearly and freely whatever objection he might have to him: That those against whom no reasonable objection appeared, should be, in order for their trial, formed into one or more distinct bands, and some person agreed on to assist them: That after two months trial, if no objection then appeared, they should be admitted into the society: That every fourth Saturday should be observed as a day of general intercession: That on the Sunday seven-night following, there should be a general love feast, from seven till ten in the evening: That no particular member should be allowed to act in any thing contrary to any order of the society: and that, if any person, after being thrice admonished, should not conform thereto, they should no longer be esteemed as members."

We have now arrived at an æra which exhibits Mr. Wesley in a state of enmity with the members

bers of the established church, who were justly alarmed and offended by the enthusiastic proceedings of the Methodists. Wesley himself did not hesitate to declare, that, at three o'clock on the 1st of January 1739, "the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground;" nor was he altogether easy at these effects of their earnestness, which he apprehended might furnish many arguments against him, and even rouse the arm of the civil power; he therefore seemed willing to discriminate between the really awakened, and those agitated by Satan through revenge.

Whitefield had not long before established his practice of preaching in the open air, and Wesley adopted it for the first time near Bristol; for the obvious reasons of the general impossibility of procuring a church, or one large enough for the congregation he collected. "Field-preaching was therefore," he observes, "a sudden *expedient*, a thing submitted to rather than chosen." On these occasions, "cries and tears on every hand frequently drowned his voice, while many exclaimed in the bitterness of their soul, 'What shall I do to be saved?'" This circumstance naturally suggested the idea of erecting a place of worship, and Bristol was the spot chosen for the purpose. Eleven feoffees were concerned with Mr. W., and the first stone was laid "with the voice of praise and

and thanksgiving," May 12, 1739. One reason from many urged against the nature of the plan was enough, says Mr. W.: "That such feoffees always would have it in their power to controul me; and, if I preached not as they like, to turn me out of the room I had built;"—consequently he dissolved the agreement entered into, and undertook the task without a shilling to effect it; but this was a trifling matter, as he "knew the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and in his name set out, nothing doubting."

The public employment of Mr. Wesley was at this time extremely laborious, as he read prayers daily and preached in the prison, and in the evening expounded from some text at one or more of the society's rooms; on the afternoon of Monday he preached near Bristol; alternately at Bath and Two-mile hill on Tuesday; on Wednesday at Baptist mills; on every second Thursday near Pensford; on every other Friday in another part of Kingswood; "on Saturday in the afternoon, and Sunday morning, in the bowling-green (which lies near the middle of the city); on Sunday at eleven near Hanham mount; at two at Clifton, and at five on Rose green." And in the midst of these exertions, by which, he says, sinners were daily humbled under the mighty hand of God, he exclaimed (in another sense than poor vain Archimedes), "Give me where to stand, and I will shake the earth.' Such was the presumptuous

zeal

zeal of Wesley, nor was that of his hearers less ardent, when "God's sending forth lightning with the rain did not hinder about 1500 from staying at Rose Green," in defiance of the *natural* consequences of exposure in a state of inactivity to the chills of a tempest.

Charles Wesley greatly disapproved of his brother's intemperance, and attempted in vain to check it; for what could be urged to a man who declared, "A dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me; and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!" and that he looked upon all the world as his parish, forgetting that each parish was already provided with many preachers full as worthy as himself, but who did not think it merciful to affect their ignorant hearers with a species of animal magnetism, to which their cries, groans, and convulsions, can only be compared. Indeed the well-established fact of *such effects* following *imaginary causes* by *sympathy* in the detestable incantations of *animal magnetism* entirely defeat every assertion of Wesley's as to the immediate operations of the divine Spirit or that of evil.

He now laboured, according to Coke and Moore, between London and Bristol, in Moorfields, at Kennington common, and Blackheath, where tens of thousands went to *see* him, if not to hear him; and yet his labours were not altogether confined to preaching abroad, as he had many schisms to compose in the bosom of his own societies.

societies. "I found," he observed, "more and more undeniable proofs, that the Christian state is a continual warfare;" and "the hearts of most of the brethren in London became now quite estranged from him." On the evening of Sunday, July 20th, 1740, he read a paper to his congregation, declaring the doctrines they had adopted in opposition to his own, "flatly contrary to the word of God;" and that, having warned and tried them till that moment, he resolved to give them "up to God." He then invited those to follow him who were of his opinion, and not more than nineteen persons did so.

With respect to these doctrines, I have nothing to say more than to refer the curious to the different lives which have been written of Wesley, who established a meeting at the Foundry in Moorfields with the remnant of his flock, which rapidly increased; but a deeper sting attended him in the secession of Whitefield, his old and indefatigable coadjutor, who had so far changed his opinions as to say of Wesley, "He and I preached two different Gospels;" and he was resolved to preach against him and his brother "whereso-ever he preached at all." This breach was never healed, though Mr. Wesley made many concessions. All that was effected amounted to Whitefield's leaving the brothers mourning rings; yet Mr. John Wesley preached his funeral sermon in a manner that did him high honour, and Charles

wrote

wrote a poetical and handsome tribute to his memory.

Another difficulty attended our preacher — he made numbers of converts, and would, he says, have consigned them to their respective ministers, but they rejected them universally; he therefore felt himself compelled to appoint a new species of curate, who was to provide for the spiritual comfort of his flocks, and Mr. Cennick proved the happy man at Kingswood. A Mr. Maxfield received a similar office for London as to prayer and advice; but this person felt himself impelled to go farther; and upon Mr. Wesley's return for the express purpose of putting an end to his proceedings, his mother advised him to hear Maxfield: he consented, and was convinced it was the work of God. About the same time, John Nelson, a journeyman stone-mason, had a similar impulse, and left London to preach in Yorkshire, his native place. Wesley visited him, and *united* the labours of a *priest* with a *layman*. In the year 1743, he preached with great effect at Newcastle upon Tyne, and at Epworth, from his father's tomb in the church-yard, as he was denied the use of the church and the sacrament. He soon after formed the resolution of instituting distinct societies of his followers, himself their great director; and easily argued his conscience to acquiescence, which had suggested the word *schism* from the church he still affected to admire. A leader was

appointed

appointed to govern the classes, as he termed these societies.

Several zealous persons at Bristol were the founders of the custom of meeting and spending great part, if not all, the night in prayer and thanksgiving. Wesley was advised to suppress the practice; but he decided for it, and monthly meetings of this description were established. At the same time, "to separate the precious from the vile," he required confession to himself of every member of his societies once a quarter; and those he chose to elect or absolve received a ticket, which was considered by the brethren as "of just the same force with the commendatory letters mentioned by the Apostle." "Besides," he observes, "these also supplied us with a quiet and inoffensive method of removing any disorderly member." Another division of the classes was called Bands.

Although the society of Methodists was in a progressive state of increase, they had many opponents amongst the vulgar as well as the best classes of the community. The former, as usual, persecuted; and, had not the magistracy sometimes interfered, much violence had been inflicted beyond what is related by the sufferers; and that amounts to every thing but loss of life to Mr. Wesley, who was always rescued by prayer and the immediate interference of God.—Affairs at length became so complicated, that the Arch-

priest

priest of the new sect found it necessary to divide the kingdom into circuits for his ministers, who were annually assembled to give an account of their process and conduct, at what was and is still called a *Conference.*

The preachers of this sect are prepared for their office by receiving them as private members of the society on trial; if approved, they are admitted at the end of three months: in due time they become leaders of classes, and occasionally exhort. Upon exhibiting proper abilities, they preach, and from the local are selected the itinerant preachers, who are proposed at the Conference, and are then assigned a circuit. After four years trial and annual examination, they are received into full connection. The preacher and his wife are paid £.12 per annum each, and £.4 is allowed towards the education of every child: "he being allowed food for himself and horse wherever he goes. Thus care is taken, that none of them shall grow rich by the Gospel."

During the rebellion of 1745, Mr. Wesley seized every opportunity of enforcing loyalty to the reigning Monarch, and, much to his honour, solicited for and obtained leave to preach to the soldiers stationed at Newcastle upon Tyne; he was equally successful in establishing a school at Kingswood, near Bristol, suited to his particular views, and was indebted to one lady for no less than £.800 towards completing it. A journey

he,

he performed at a subsequent period, of which he published an account, exhibits him as a man callous to every consideration of health and convenience, and as one possessed of a constitution surpassing all others in its resistance of cold and wet. "Many," says one of his biographers, "were the hair-breadth escapes which he experienced during that time." An unhappy marriage caused Mr. Wesley infinite disquietude, which seems to have been the consequence of his itinerant habits, and perhaps of that *hauteur* demonstrated in a letter to his wife, containing these words alluding to her aspersing his character to vindicate her own: "Whereas of what importance is *your* character to mankind, if you was buried just now? or, if you had never lived, what loss would it be to the cause of God?" Unfounded jealousy had very baneful effects on the conduct of Mrs. Wesley, which would probably never have existed had the usual mode of living in the married state prevailed in his family.

Mr. Wesley had for many years indulged the hope of uniting in his ministry certain priests of the established church, and made the attempt by a circular letter in 1764, which entirely failed; nor was he more fortunate in his desire to preserve the society from new theories and fancies, which Mr. Maxfield, who had been ordained by the Bishop of Londonderry, spread rapidly. "On Mr. W.'s arrival in town, the visionaries stood reproved;"

reproved;" but he was at a loss how to act, as much good had been done; he, however, wrote his sentiments to Maxfield, though without the least effect. George Bell, a coadjutor of Maxfield's, was a serjeant in the life guards. This man had bewildered his senses, and outstripped all his competitors in enthusiasm. Mr. Wesley was alarmed, and heard him when Bell was unconscious of the circumstance, in order to judge of the propriety of expelling him from the Foundry. On this occasion, Mr. W. discovered that he screamed unintelligibly in his prayers, that he conceived he had miraculous discernment of spirits, and that he was violent against his opposers. "I was then convinced," he observes, "that he must not continue to pray at the Foundry. The reproach of Christ I am willing to bear; *but not the reproach of enthusiasm, if I can help it.*"

Bell developed a part of the character of the inhabitants of London which had lain dormant for a long period, by presumptuously and wickedly prophecying in January 1763, that the end of the world would be on the 28th of February following. Instead of receiving this intimation with the indignation it merited, and punishing the author, the civil power remained inactive; and the weak and vulgar were terrified even to sit up all the succeeding night, and wander in the neighbouring fields, expecting they knew not what. Wesley, it may be anticipated, slept away

the same night in perfect tranquillity, and separated from Maxfield; but soon received an able assistant in the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, Salop; of whom it is said, "he was devout, pious, and laborious, in his calling, in a degree seldom equalled since the days of the Apostles."—"From this time, Mr. Wesley was but little troubled by the advocates for absolute predestination. Mr. Fletcher's works have been a standing answer to all those who assert it."

About the year 1783, Mr. Wesley executed a deed which, having been enrolled in Chancery, made the Conference a legal body, and secured the right of the society to their different chapels. This act was, perhaps, the most important of his long life, except that thus mentioned by Coke and Moore: "Dr. Coke and Mr. Creighton accordingly met him in Bristol; when, with their assistance, *he ordained* Mr. Richard Whatcoat and Mr. Thomas Vasey *Presbyters* for America; and, being *peculiarly attached* to *every* rite of the Church of England, did afterwards *ordain* Dr. Coke *a superintendant under his hand and seal.*" Lest this superintendant should be mistaken for something less, he received from Mr. Wesley testimonials directed to the brethren in America, decidedly pronouncing him *a bishop*, consecrated *secundùm usum Methodistæ*. Mr. Wesley died March 2d, 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age; but not so his society, that

that flourishes with unexampled vigour, subject only to those feuds which are the inevitable consequences of religious as well as civil liberty.

Having introduced Mr. Wesley to the notice of my readers, I shall permit him to speak of his own acts in an extract from his Journal between 1741 and 1743, published in 1749: "Thursday, 13th January 1743, I rode to Stratford upon Avon. I had scarce sat down before I was informed, that Mrs. K., a middle-aged woman, of Shattery, half a mile from Stratford, had been for many weeks last past in a way which nobody could understand: that she had sent for a minister, but almost as soon as he came began roaring in so strange a manner (her tongue, at the same time, hanging out of her mouth, and her face distorted into the most terrible form), that he cried out, 'It is the devil! doubtless, it is the devil!' and immediately went away. I suppose this was some unphilosophical minister, else he would have said, 'Stark mad! send her to Bedlam.' I asked, What good do you think I can do? One answered, We cannot tell; but Mrs. K. (I just relate what was spoken to me, without passing any judgment upon it) earnestly desired you might come, if you was any where near; saying, 'She had seen you in a dream, and should know you immediately.' But the devil said (those were her own expressions), 'I will tear thy throat out before he comes.' But afterwards (she said)

his words were, 'If he does come, I will let thee be quiet; and thou shalt be as if nothing ailed thee, till he is gone away.' A very odd kind of madness this! I walked over about noon; but when we came to the house, desired all those who came with me to stay below. One shewing me the way, I went up strait to her room. As soon as I came to the bedside, she fixed her eyes on me, and said, 'You are Mr. Wesley; I am very well now, I thank God. Nothing ails me; only I am weak.' I called them up, and we began to sing,

'Jesus thou hast bid us pray;
Pray always, and not faint:
With the word a power convey
To utter our complaint.'

After singing a verse or two, we kneeled down to prayer. I had but just began (my eyes being shut), *when I felt as if I had been plunged into cold water; and immediately there was such a roar, that my voice was quite drowned, though I spoke as loud as I usually do to three or four thousand people.* However, I prayed on. She was then reared up in the bed, her whole body moving at once, without bending one joint or limb, just as if it were one piece of stone. Immediately after, it was writhed into all kind of postures, the same horrid yell continuing still. But we left her not till all the symptoms ceased, and she was (for the present, at least) rejoicing and praising God."

"Sunday,

"Sunday, 8th. I cried aloud in Redcliffe-square, 'Why will ye die, O house of Israel?' Only one poor man was exceeding noisy and turbulent; but in a moment God touched his heart —he hung down his head, tears covered his face, and his voice was heard no more."

"Thursday, 23d. In the evening, almost as soon as I began to pray in the society, a voice of bitter lamentation and bitter mourning was heard from the whole congregation; but, in a while, loud thanksgivings were mixt therewith, which, in a short space, spread over all; so that nothing was to be heard on every side but praise to God and to the Lamb for ever and ever!"

"Friday, 24th. I had notes from nineteen persons, desiring to return God thanks: some of them follow. John Merriman, a blind man, desires to return thanks to Almighty God for the discovery of his love to him, an old sinner. One desires to return God thanks for giving her a token of his love, in removing all prejudices, and giving her love to all mankind. Edith D. desires to return thanks for great and unspeakable mercies, which the Lord was pleased to reveal to her heart—even telling me, 'I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions; and thy sins will I remember no more.' And I desire that the praise of the Lord may be ever in my heart."

"Sunday, 21. After preaching in the room

at

at five, I began preaching about eight at the hospital. It rained all the time; but that did not disturb either me or the congregation, while I explained, 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins.'"

Common patience becomes exhausted on reading the above instances of enthusiasm, particularly when we find that Mr. Wesley could condemn that of another, though produced by himself. "Saturday, 4th. I was both surprised and grieved at a genuine instance of enthusiasm. J—— B——, of Tanfield Leigh, who had received a sense of the love of God a few days before, came riding through the town, hollowing and shouting, and driving all the people before him, telling them, 'God had told him he should be a king, and should tread all his enemies under his feet.' I sent him home immediately to his work, and advised him to cry day and night to God, that he might be lowly in heart, lest Satan should again get an advantage over him."

"Saturday, Dec. 25th. The physician told me he could do no more; Mr. Meyrick could not live over the night. I went up, and found them all crying about him; his legs being cold, and (as it seemed) dead already. We all kneeled down, and called upon God, with strong cries and tears. He opened his eyes, and called for me. *And from that hour* he continued to recover his strength,

strength, till he was restored to perfect health. — I wait to hear who will either disprove this fact, or *philosophically* account for it."

Had it been in the nature of things possible that Mr. Wesley could have enlightened the minds of the vulgar who heard him, previous to his using the means he adopted of *terrifying* them into a knowledge of the God of *Mercy*, the effects of his preaching had not been so conspicuous. The violent declamations of a zealot, armed with all the horrors of eternal perdition, may make a sensible man reflect, and amend; but he cannot derange his faculties, and enervate his frame. The case, however, is far otherwise with the uninformed, to whom the metaphorical language of enthusiasm becomes divine truth, and all the terrors belonging to the obstinately wicked are applied to themselves, without a hope of remission and forgiveness, though they are actually entitled to both by the symptoms of repentance they exhibit. I am well aware of the comments I shall draw upon myself, by reprobating coercion in religion, and recommending persuasion and demonstration; and I shall probably be told, it is my business to relate, and not to comment. I shall, however, do both; and conclude my specimens of Mr. Wesley's ministry and customs with two most afflicting instances of the powers of eloquence, and preaching damnation to the unlettered multitude. If any, besides bigoted enthusiasts,

thusiasts, approve of the effects produced, I am contented to be pronounced an incompetent judge of the *intention* of the Scriptures.

"A woman suddenly cried out, as in the agonies of death, and continued to do so for some time, with all the signs of the sharpest anguish. One felt as it were the piercing of a sword, and could not avoid crying out even in the street. Two others were constrained to roar, as seized with great pain; another, as out of the belly of hell. A young man, suddenly seized with violent trembling all over, sunk down to the ground. 'One and another, and another, sunk to the earth. They dropped on every side as thunder-struck. One was so wounded with the sword of the Spirit, that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. A woman broke out into strong cries: great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook. A Quaker dropped down as thunder-struck in an agony terrible to behold. Another person reeled four or five steps, and then dropped down. One fallen, *raving mad*, changed colour, fell off his chair, screamed terribly, beat himself against the ground, his breast heaving as in the pangs of death, roaring out, 'O thou devil! legions of devils!' &c. Three persons, almost at once, sunk down as dead. A little boy was seized in the same manner; a young man, fixing his eyes upon him, sunk himself down as one dead, and beat himself against the

the ground; six men could scarce hold him. Others began to cry out, insomuch that all the house (and indeed all the street for some space) was in an uproar. Some were so torn with convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, that four or five persons could not hold one of them. While I was speaking, one dropped down as dead; presently a second and third. Five others sunk down, most of them in violent agonies, in the pains of hell, and snares of death; one, an hour in strong pain; one or two more for three days."

Speaking of a young illiterate female, aged about nineteen, under the influence of the dæmons of enthusiasm and despair, and a victim to one of his sermons or expoundings, that gentleman says in his Journal, that it required two or three men to hold her in bed, while " a thousand distortions shewed how the dogs of hell were gnawing her heart. She shrieked, and screamed out, 'I am damned! damned! Six days ago, you might have helped me; but now it is all passed. I am the devil's now; I have given myself to him; his I am; him I must serve; with him I must go to hell; I *will* be his; I *will* serve him; I will go with him to hell; I cannot, I will not be saved; I must, I *will*, I *will*, I *will*, be damned. She then began praying to the devil. We began, 'Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!' She immediately sunk down as asleep; but, as soon as we left off, broke out with inexpressible vehemence,

'Strong

'Strong hearts, break! I am a warning to *you*: you need not be damned, though I *must*.' She then fixed her eyes on the corner of the cieling, and said, 'There he is; aye, there he is. Come, good devil, come, take me away. You said you would dash my brains out. Come, do it quickly; I am your's; I will be your's. Come just now, take me away.' We interrupted her by calling again upon God. We continued in prayer till past eleven; when God, in a moment, spake peace to her soul."

It may be observed, that all these details of facts are foreign to the object I have in view; but I beg leave to answer, that each of the circumstances related tend to explain the state of the human mind as it existed amongst the middling and lower orders of the people, which was evidently a mere blank through want of cultivation, and capable of receiving the most improper impressions from inability to discriminate between the sound doctrine of the preacher, and his extraneous illustrations; hence, in numerous instances, actual madness was engendered, and not reformation. Energy in the preacher, and a moderate appeal to the passions, are extremely useful; but excess of zeal is as mischievous as a deficiency of that quality.

We must now proceed to notice an ardent promoter of Mr. Wesley's designs.

George Whitefield was a native of Gloucester, and

and born in December 1714. At the age of 12 he became one of the scholars of a grammar-school, established in that city; at 17 he exhibited symptoms of a strong sense of religion; at 18 he went to Pembroke College, Oxford; and, in about one year after this event, he, in the words of Wesley's funeral sermon on him, 'became acquainted with the Methodists (so called), whom from that time he loved as his own soul.' From this sect he received the information that he must be born again, or outward religion availed him nothing. Impressed with this supposition, he began to assist in the active operations of his brethren, by fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, visiting prisoners and sick persons; and, in short, according to Wesley, he gathered up the very fragments of time, that no moment might be lost. A complete change in the course of his studies followed, and those were directed solely to obtain a thorough knowledge of Christ crucified. Neglect and contempt, and the loss of kindness from his best friends, inward trials, sleepless nights, prostration on the ground, and groaning several months, were evidences of his trial, "as with fire." But, at the close of that time, the Divinity was pleased to give him the spirit of adoption, "enabling him through a living faith to lay hold on the son of his love." It cannot be supposed that human nature could sustain such a conflict without suffering some corporeal derangement;

ment; to recover which he went to Gloucester, where "God enabled him to awake several young persons:" those, with himself, formed a society; he read twice or oftener a week to the poor and the prisoners of the county gaol, and prayed with the latter.

At the age of 21, he was solicited to enter into holy orders; but resisted, through a conviction of his insufficiency. At length, the Bishop prevailed upon him to consent, adding the compliment, that though he had determined to ordain no one under the age of 23, he would make an exception in his favour. This event took place on Trinity Sunday, 1736. He preached for the first time on the succeeding Sabbath day; and, returning to Oxford, he received his degree of A. B. While at the University he was indefatigable with the prisoners and the poor. An invitation to serve the cure of a friend in London, while he went into the country, caused him to visit the metropolis: his lodgings were within the walls of the Tower, in the chapel of which he officiated twice a week, "catechising and preaching once, beside daily visiting the soldiers in the barracks and the infirmary. He also read prayers every evening at Wapping chapel, and preached at Ludgate prison every Tuesday." He was invited soon after to go to Georgia, but refused, and again returned to Oxford; whence he went to the cure of Dummer in Hampshire. At this place he read

prayers

prayers early in the morning daily; and, after the people left their work, catechised the children, and visited all who would admit him. In order to accomplish this fatiguing duty, he divided the day into three portions; eight hours of which were appropriated to sleeping and eating, eight for retirement and study, and the remainder for the offices already mentioned.

In January 1737, he became convinced; he was called abroad, and left Dummer for Gloucester to take leave of his friends. In the course of this journey, such was the eagerness of the people to hear him preach, "the heat of the churches was scarce supportable." It is not necessary to follow Mr. Whitefield on his first voyage to America, where he found thousands of admirers; but we shall meet him on his return to England for the purpose of raising contributions for founding an Orphan-house in Georgia. On the 14th of January 1739, he was ordained priest at Christ Church, Oxford; and came to London the next day. On preaching several sermons, he found his auditors so extremely numerous, that he had thoughts of addressing them in future in the open air; his friends, however, dissuaded him from it, and his design was postponed till the 21st of February, "when finding all the church doors to be shut in Bristol (beside that no church was able to contain one half of the congregation), at 3 in the afternoon, he went to Kingswood, and preached abroad

to

to near 2000 people." This number, according to Wesley, afterwards increased to 5 and even 10,000.

Between the above period and August, he pursued this ministry; and, at length, embarked for, and arrived in America. There we are informed, "In all places the greater part were affected to an amazing degree: many were deeply convinced of their lost state; many truly converted to God. In some places, thousands cried out aloud, many as in the agonies of death; most were drowned in tears; some turned as pale as death; others were wringing their hands; others lying on the ground; others sinking into the arms of their friends, almost all lifting up their eyes, and calling for mercy. He returned to Savannah, June 5th. The next evening, during the public service, the whole congregation, young and old, were dissolved in tears. After service, several of the parishioners, and all his family, particularly the little children, returned home crying along the street, and some could not help praying aloud. The groans and cries of the children continued all night, and great part of the next day."

The Reverend George Whitefield died at Newbury in New England 1770.

As I have quoted many passages from Mr. John Wesley's Journal, it will be necessary to pursue the same method with Mr. Whitefield; that the reader who is not acquainted with the operations of the sect may form a general idea of it.

"Sunday,

"Sunday, January 7th. Preached twice to-day, and expounded with great power to three societies; one of which I never visited before. God grant I may pursue the method of expounding and praying extempore. I find God blesses it more and more. Had another love-feast, and spent the whole night in prayer and thanksgiving at Fetter-lane. There was a great pouring out of the spirit amongst the brethren; but I cannot say I was so full of joy as the last night we spent together."

"Monday, January 8th. Though I sat up all night, yet God carried me through the work of the day with about an hour's sleep. Expounded in the evening, and confuted a virulent opposer of the doctrines of the new birth, and justification by faith only. But what can be said to those that will not be convinced? Lord, open thou their hearts and eyes! Spent the remainder of the evening with our bands, which are little combinations of six or more Christians meeting together to compare their experiences. Build ye up one another, even as also ye do. Confess your faults one to another, and pray to one another that ye may be healed."

"—— Near nine times has God enabled me to preach this week, and to expound twelve or fourteen times. Near £.40, I believe, have been collected for the Orphan-house. I find I gain greater light and knowledge by preaching extempore;

tempore; so that I fear I should quench the Spirit did I not go on to speak as he gives me utterance. Waited upon an opposing clergyman, and had a conference with him of near two hours: his grand objection was against our private societies. In answer, I shewed that that act (Charles II.) was entirely levelled against seditious schismatical meetings, contrary to the Church of England, which confines us to a form in public worship only. He replied that ours was public worship; but this I deny; for ours were societies never intended to be set up in opposition to the public worship by law established; but only in imitation of the primitive Christians, who continued daily with one accord in the temple; and yet in fellowship building up one another, and exhorting one another from house to house."

"Sunday, Feb. 4th. Had a comfortable night's rest; was warmed much by talking to an almost Christian, that came to ask me certain questions. Preached in the morning at St. George's in the East, collected £.18 for the Orphan-house; and had, I believe, 600 communicants, which highly offended the officiating curate. *Poor man! I pitied and prayed for him sincerely.*

"This has been a Sabbath indeed! How has God owned me before near 12,000 people this day! How has he strengthened my body! How has he filled and satisfied my soul! Now know I, that I did receive the Holy Ghost at imposition

of

of hands; for I feel it as much as Elisha did when Elijah dropped his mantle. Nay, others see it also; and my opposers, would they but speak, cannot but confess that God is with me of a truth. Wherefore, then, do they fight against God?"

"Reached Northampton about five in the evening, and was most courteously received by Dr. Doddridge, master of the academy there. At seven, according to appointment, I preached to about 3000 hearers, on a common near the town, from the starting post. Great power, I believe, was amongst us, and I preached with wonderful pleasure; because I thought I had then actual possession of one of the devil's strong holds."

"Friday, June 1st. Dined at Old Ford; gave a short exhortation to a few people in a field, and preached in the evening at a place called May Fair, near Hyde Park Corner. The congregation, I believe, consisted of near 80,000 *people*. It was by far the largest I ever preached to yet. In the time of my prayer, there was a little noise, but they kept a deep silence during my whole discourse. An high and very commodious scaffold was erected for me to stand upon; and though I was weak in myself, yet God strengthened me to speak so loud that most could hear, and so powerfully that most, I believe, could feel."

However the moralist may regret that the professors of the Christian religion have separated

into so many opposite paths, when one might have sufficed to lead to the object in view, the same in every division, he cannot but feel infinite satisfaction in reflecting, that Methodism has effected a great change for the better in the very lowest classes of society, since the violent enthusiasm it commenced with has subsided. And now, to conclude my sketch of the history of Religion in England, it should be observed, that the good sense of society at large, more than the influence of Government, has suppressed every attempt to introduce doctrines not founded solely upon the Scriptures. Presumption, enthusiasm, and insanity, invariably meet with the fate of the French Prophets, Swedenborg, Brothers, and Jemima Wilkinson. The following account of the Gallic impostors will serve as an illustration of all subsequent follies of a religious origin.

The French Prophets, as they were termed, roused all the latent seeds of religious superstition in London, by their arrival in 1706. Elias Marion was a native of Barré, in the Upper Cevennes, and born 1678. His parents, who were Protestants, placed him with an attorney, with whom he continued three years. At the end of which period, he returned to his relatives, and immediately coalesced with two of his brothers, previously inspired. The spirit that prompted their movements commanded Elias to fight for the Gospel; but, being defeated, the French monarch

narch permitted him, with others, to retire to Lousanne; when a second notice, by inspiration, sent him to London.

John Cavalier was born at Sauve, in the Cevennes, of Protestant parents; and being accidentally present at a numerous enthusiastic meeting at Barré, he became inspired by the frantic agitations of three boys, which produced a violent hiccough of nine months duration, without the gift of speech. The faculties of his tongue were at length restored in a paroxysm of extacy, and he became a Prophet.

Durand Fage was a native of Aubais in Languedoc, and bore arms in the militia employed against the Camizars. He was present at one of the extatic meetings then held in that part of France; and being told by a relation when in extacy, that the sword by his side would be drawn against the enemies of the Gospel, he received the hint kindly, and commenced Prophet.

These men are supposed to have visited England in hopes of obtaining military employment, as several regiments were then raising for an intended descent on France; but, being disappointed, they had recourse to a more profitable pursuit, one in which they were eminently successful, and were followed by crowds, who comprehended as much of their ridiculous rhapsodies as themselves who uttered them. Three associates, named John

Daudé, Nicholas Facio, and Charles Portales, attended their exhibitions, for the express purpose of making notes of the sentences pronounced by the Prophets. When rapidity of utterance rendered this operation difficult, they consulted each other's memorandums; and failing in this, they had recourse to prayer, when the Spirit supplied the very words.

Amongst the dupes these impostors attracted to their scandalous meetings was Sir Richard Bulkeley, a man much deformed in person, and, it must be allowed, not less so in mind, when it is known that he so completely subscribed to the truth of the mission of the pretended Prophets as to wear his clothes threadbare and dirty, to that degree his friends reproached him for meanness, to whom he replied, "That the Spirit had declared he should be made strait, and that he would stay till the Spirit had fulfilled his promise; for to buy new ones now, would be money thrown away to no purpose, because they would not fit him when he was strait." The Prophets made other proselytes, particularly Mr. Lacy and *Betty Grey*, who shall be introduced from "Enthusiastic Impostors no divinely-inspired Prophets," published by Morphew, 1707.

"At a meeting at Sir Richard Bulkeley's chamber, in Great Russel-street, where were present Mr. Lacy, Mr. Allut, Mr. Facio, Mr. Marion, Mr. Cavalier, and almost the whole room full of other

other people; Betty Grey, under violent agitations, personated the great w—— of Antichrist; took all the chairs in the room and barricaded the door, that nobody might come in or go out. This done, she laid aside her manteau and night-clothes, tied up her hair before all the company with singular modesty; then taking a peruke and hat that she found in the room, put them on her head, and sat down in an elbow chair very majestically, with her arms akembo. After this, she rose out of the chair, and for about an hour together thumped and beat with her fist every one in the room in their turns, except Mr. Lacey; Sir Richard Bulkeley hid himself a while in a corner of the room, in hopes to avoid the effects of her fury; but she, finding him out, laid upon him unmercifully, without any regard to his diminutive infirm *corps*, or his quality; insomuch that he found himself obliged to make his escape over the bed, to shelter himself from the hard blows of this termagant w—— of Antichrist; who, as soon as the skirmish was over, sat down again in the elbow chair; and, being still in an extacy, opened her mouth, and fell ranting at a rate agreeable to her own character, and the w—— she represented.

"Then Mr. Allut, falling into agitations, and being commanded by the Spirit to combat this female fury, cries out, *Es tu la grande béte, la putain*

putain de Babylon? Then rose up, pulled her down upon the floor, stamped upon her, kicked her about as if she had been a dead cat, and, walking in triumph on her body, stood upon her breast till she appeared lifeless. Immediately after, she rose up, spoke, and gave thanks, that Antichrist and the w—— of Babylon were overcome. Upon which, both their inspirations ceased; and both the *actors* declared they had no sense or remembrance of what had passed in this rencontre; though they made such a horrid noise in the house, that Sir Richard's landlady gave him warning to be gone."—The person who relates this monstrous conduct declares himself to have been not only an ocular witness of it, but a corporeal one, when receiving the blows inflicted by the modern lady of Babylon.

I shall now refer the reader to the annexed plate, copied from a sheet, published by J. Applebee, 1707, and called "the English and French Prophets mad or bewicht at their assemblies in Baldwin's Gardens, &c."

The conclusion of this business was the appearance of the worst of the fraternity at Guildhall, where they were tried for impostors, and found guilty; after which, Elias Marion, Fashein *, and Bryant, were sentenced to stand on a scaffold at

* I suppose Facio.

Charing

Charing Cross and the Royal Exchange, with papers on their breasts, explaining the nature of their offences, and to pay 20 marks each. This punishment made the remainder of the brethren more cautious in their proceedings, and their private meetings were gradually discontinued.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

SUPERSTITION.

A LONG and disgusting tale of mental infirmity lies before me. It would require volumes, only to sketch the fears, the terrors, the horrors, the cruelties, of man, when under the influence of Superstition. We have nothing to do with the follies and fancies of the inhabitants of other countries in this particular, though we certainly derived many of our prejudices from them. At present, the reader shall receive some information, from a very learned and high authority indeed, as to the signification and etymology of the words *Magic* and *Necromancy*. Thus saith the weak king who filled the seat of the learned and artful Elizabeth as her immediate successor: and who shall we select to speak more feelingly on the subject than this Royal slave to superstition?

"The word Magi, in the Persian tongue, imports as much as to be a contemplator or interpreter of divine and heavenly sciences; which being first used among the Chaldees, through their ignorance of the true Divinity, was esteemed and reputed amongst them as a principal virtue:

and

and therefore was named unjustly with an honourable style; which name the Greeks imitated, generally importing all these kinds of unlawful arts. And this word Necromancy is a Greek word compounded of Νέκρων and μάντεια; which is to say, the prophecy by the dead. This last name is given to this black and unlawful science by the figure Synechdoche, because it is a principal part of that art, to serve themselves with dead carcases in their divinations."

According to our Royal authority, the Necromancer is the master and commander of the arch-enemy of mankind; but the Witch, an inferior order of being, is the servant or slave of the latter. The Necromancer being indulged with *temporary* power, in order that his soul might become completely entangled in the snares of the great deceiver, the learned and the ignorant were equally admitted to a participation in this short-enduring dignity. "The learned have their curiosity wakened up, and fed by that which I call his school — this is the Astrology Judiciar; for, divers men having attained to a great perfection in learning, and yet remaining overbare, alas! of the Spirit of regeneration, and fruits thereof, finding all natural things common, as well to the stupid pedants as unto them, they assay to vindicate unto them a greater name, by not only knowing the course of things heavenly, but likewise to climb to the knowledge of things to come thereby;

by; which at the first face appearing lawful unto them, in respect the ground there seemeth to proceed of natural causes only, they are so allured thereby, that, finding their practice to prove true in sundry things, they study to know the cause thereof; and so mounting from degree to degree, upon the slippery and uncertain scale of curiosity, they are at last enticed, that where lawful arts or sciences fail to satisfy their restless minds, even to seek to that black and unlawful science of Magic; where finding, at the first, that such divers forms of circles and conjurations, rightly joined thereunto, will raise such divers forms of spirits, to resolve them of their doubts; and attributing the doing thereof to the power inseparably tied, or inherent in the circles, and many words of God confusedly wrapped in, they blindly glory of themselves, as if they had by their quickness of engine made a conquest of Pluto's dominion, and were become emperors over the Stygian habitacles; where, in the mean time, (miserable wretches!) they are to become, in very deed, bond-slaves to their mortal enemy."

The devil's rudiments he defines generally the virtue of word, herb, and stone, used by charms and without natural causes; of the same description were all kinds of "practiques freites," &c., which would not bear the test of reason: "I mean," continues the Monarch, "either by such kind of charms as commonly daft wives use for healing

healing of forespoken goods, for preserving them from evil eyes, by knitting rountrees, or sundriest kind of herbs, to the hair or tail of the goods; by curing the worm, by stemming of blood, by healing of horsecrooks, by turning of the riddle, or doing of such like innumerable things, by words, without applying any thing meet to the part offended, as medicines do."

The observers of the operations of Nature have, according to James, from the beginning called the science of the movements of the planets, &c. *Astronomia*: a word compounded from two in the Greek language, expressing the law of the stars: an art, commendable in itself, and connected with the mathematics. *Astrologia*, however, seems to be in a very different predicament, which is defined as the *preaching of the stars*.—This system consists of two parts; the first enables the professor to ascertain the power of simples, and illnesses, the course of the seasons, and the weather, which are supposed to be governed by their influence. The second part consists in the reliance on that influence; and thence foretelling the revolutions of states, the fate of battles, the age any particular person may attain, the time of their decease, &c. &c. From the latter, many branches have diverged, under the terms of Chyromancy, Geomancy, Hydromancy, Arithmancy, &c. &c. This part the King gives to the devil's school. To conclude our abstract of a portion

a portion of the dæmonology: "These conjurations must have few or more in number of the persons conjurors (always passing the singular unmber), according to the quality of the circle, and form of apparition. Two principal things cannot well in that errand be wanted — holy water, (whereby the devil mocks the papists;) and some present of a living thing unto him. There are likewise certain seasons, days, and hours, that they observe in this purpose. These things being all ready and prepared, circles are made triangular, quadrangular, round, double, or single, according to the form of apparition that they crave. But to speak of the divers forms of the circles of the innumerable characters and crosses that are within and without, and out-through the same; of the divers forms of apparitions, that that crafty spirit illudes them with; and of all such particulars in that action, I remit it to over-many, that have busied their heads in describing of the same; as being but curious and altogether unprofitable. And this far only I touch, that when the conjured spirit appears, which will not be while after many circumstances, long prayers, and much muttering and murmuring of the conjurors; like a papist priest dispatching a hunting mass;—how soon, I say, he appears, if they have missed one iota of all their rites; or if any of their feet once slide over the circle, through terror of his fearful apparition, he pays himself, at

that

that time in his own hand, of that due debt which they ought him, and otherwise would have delayed longer to have paid him: I mean, he carries them with him body and soul."

The human mind has ever been prone to superstition. The most antient authors, whose works are now in existence, have given repeated proofs of it. The Scriptures convince us, that it was extremely difficult to prevent the Israelites from becoming victims to this propensity; and the labours of Homer present us with fancies that seem extremely ridiculous to us, but which were sources of constant anxiety to the Greeks. The whole Continent of Europe, for very many ages, exhibited traits of it, and it has descended to the present moment in considerable force.

It cannot be doubted, that the Aborigines of this island partook of the perceptions which are found to exist amongst the natives of regions recently explored; and those, we are informed, are constantly tinctured with superstition. Charms and incantations are practised on every occasion, and good and evil spirits are supposed to interfere in their affairs through life. Admitting this to be the fact, it is extremely probable the Britons had their beatific visions, and imagined bad spirits deprived them of their different comforts in various ways. The proximity of the coast of Italy to the territories of Greek nations afforded a ready passage to the conquerors of Europe; and in return

for

for their domination, the former increased their native superstition. Hence the Romans, who sent their armies and priests in every direction, spread their prejudices; and thus we must suppose them united in England with those of the natives. Much of the superstition of each was connected with their peculiar ideas of religion.

One of the first instances upon record, though possibly not the very first, of the appearance of an angel of light, was that of Edwyn, king of Northumberland, then a Pagan. This monarch, seated alone, and deep in thought, was suddenly addressed by one who informed him, he knew the cause of his dejection, and enquired what recompence he would make him that delivered him from it. Edwyn replied, all he possessed should be at his service. What, added the visitor, if I make thee a mightier king than any of thy progenitors? The king returned the same answer. The angel or phantom proposed to teach him a better way of life than any of his ancestors had practised; and further demanded if he would obey him? "Yes," replied Edwyn, "with all my heart." Satisfied with the result of his interrogatories, the former laid his hand on the monarch's head, and continued, "When this occurs again, remember the token, your promise, and what I have said:" he then disappeared. Under the influence of his nobles, Edwyn deferred the performance of his engagement; and was afterwards attacked by an assassin,

assassin, who, employed by the king of the West Saxons, aimed a furious blow at him with an envenomed sword. Fortunately for the king, a servant interposed, and received the weapon through his body, so that the point only reached him. Yet such was the deadly effect of the poison, he languished for a considerable length of time; but recovered, and immediately took the field against the West Saxons, vowing, that he would receive the rites of baptism in case of victory.

Success attended his arms; and his promise was forgotten, except that he temporised, by rejecting his idolatrous worship, and condescended to hear the Bishop Paulinus preach. Moved by a divine impulse, the prelate waited on the king, and, laying his hand on his head, demanded, if he did not recollect that token. Convicted beyond evasion, Edwyn was baptized, and destroyed the idols and altars of his people.

The establishment of the Christian religion in this island introduced and confirmed a new species of superstition. Men who were really zealous in spreading the doctrines of the meek Messiah, and possessed elevated minds, must have perceived that the extreme ignorance of the people prevented their comprehending the whole system, however convincing where a tolerable education had prepared the way. Terrors and incitements, they erroneously conceived, would answer their purpose; consequently their invention was in constant

stant exercise for the production of visions, to promote the erection of churches, abbeys, and their endowments; and evil agency to terrify, where invitation seemed least likely to succeed.

Most of the legends may be traced to this source; others, indeed, may have arisen from the fancies of minds disordered by the excessive indulgence of pious thoughts; some were natural dreams with forced constructions, and many have proceeded from the terrors of conscience. All those, however, apply to persons possessing the advantages of high birth, and the learning of their several ages. When we descend to the lower classes, who also had their good and evil visitations, we must not be surprized that they gave implicit credit to what their priests and superiors told them as sacred truths, and not to be disputed under the penalty of excommunication. But how are we to account for their monstrous conceptions in all the stages of superstition, their persons in white, their dæmons in black, with burning eyes, claws, and a long list of horrors, their belief in witches and hobgoblins of every description?

The readers of this work will hereafter agree with the writer, that it is impossible to doubt the vulgar dared not dispute the existence of evil spirits, lest they should give them corporeal convincement; but how was it that men of eminence and of great attainments fell into a similar error? This fact seems so totally irreconcileable to rea-

son,

son, that we must give it up as a hopeless enquiry. Those who have asserted that they saw wicked sprites, and felt their malignity, and witnessed old women performing human impossibilities, and experienced the effects of their incantations or spells, were infamous and malicious inventors of falsehoods; those who believed the relations of such persons must be allowed to have been candidates for an asylum for lunatics, or had disordered their brains by study.

The people of England were confirmed in their credulity and superstition by their Norman invaders, whose curiosity sought continual gratification from soothsayers and fortune-tellers. Astrologers were entertained as part of the royal household; the lords of the court followed the example of the monarch; and though the common people could not maintain their wise men, they knew where to find them on every trivial occasion. Signs and dreams were under constant discussion, and greatly influenced both nations in all the transactions of life.

Peter, a hermit, attracted the notice of the publick in the reign of King John, by prognosticating that the monarch would die ere the succeeding Ascension-day; but, unfortunately for this presumptuous fool, the king survived to exercise the tyrannic act of hanging him for a false prophet. Yet the eyes of the people were still directed into the dark gulph of futurity.

Edward I. had long been engaged in fierce wars with the Scotch; and, although eminently successful against his enemies, they possessed that fortitude and enterprise, he generally found them close in his rear. When exhausted by conquest, he returned to England. Sensible of this trait in their national character, and fully appreciating his own abilities as a general, he became persuaded, that the very presence of his bones after his decease would be efficacious in repelling their armies. He therefore prevailed upon his son and successor to swear, he would have his body boiled in a large cauldron till the flesh parted, which was to be buried, and the former deposited, where they might be conveniently obtained to head his unknown subjects, and the monarch of the day. Froissart says, "his son did not fulfil what he had sworn, but had his father carried to London, and buried — for which much evil befel him."

Polydore Vergil relates an instance of the superstition of Edward III., which can hardly have been exceeded by that of the lowest of his subjects. A considerable sum of money lay spread before the king, which was intended to be used for his amusement. At that moment, he fancied he saw his Satanic majesty anticipating his purpose, and playing antics round the heap, the produce of a tribute exacted from the nation. Taking the hint, as he supposed it to be intended, that the cash belonged

longed to the visitor, Edward immediately ordered it to be restored to his subjects.

Edward III. went to France, in consequence of a defiance sent to the king of that country by Sir Hervé de Leon, who is mentioned in another part of this work. The fleet arrived in safety at La Hogue: the king, eager to land, leaped from his ship to the shore, fell, and struck his face with such violence that the blood gushed out of his nostrils. "Dear Sir," said the knight near him, "let us entreat you to return to your ship, and not think of landing to-day; for this is an unfortunate omen." The king instantly replied, "For why? I look upon it as very favourable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me."

Few are ignorant of the schemes and artifices contrived by the priests of the middle ages to promote their pious or interested views. We are not, however, quite so well informed as to the immediate feelings of individuals on those subjects. Froissart relates a conversation between himself and Sir William de Lisle, concerning St. Patrick's hole, which is interesting with respect to the purpose of this chapter of my work.—"On the Friday we rode out together; and, on the road, I asked if he had accompanied the King on his expedition to Ireland. He said he had. I then asked if there were any foundation in truth for what was said of St. Patrick's hole. He replied there was; and that he and another knight, dur-

ing the King's stay at Dublin, had been there. They entered it at sun-set, remained there the whole night, and came out at sun-rise the next morning. I requested he would tell me whether he saw all the marvellous things which are said to be seen there. He made me the following answer: 'When I and my companion had passed the entrance of the cave, called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, we descended three or four steps, (for you go down into it like a cellar;) but found our heads so much affected by the heat, we seated ourselves on the steps, which are of stone, and such a drowsiness came on, that we slept there the whole night.' I asked if when asleep they knew where, and what visions they had. He said they had many very strange dreams; and they seemed, as they imagined, to see more than they would have done if they had been in their beds. This they both were assured of. When morning came, and we were awake, the door of the cave was opened, for so we had ordered it, and we came out; but instantly lost all recollection of every thing we had seen, and looked on the whole as a phantom."

A truly dreadful and inhuman instance of gross superstition distinguished the year 1431, and reflects indelible disgrace upon the English army and its commanders in France. The case of the Maid of Orleans is so much involved in political motives, that it is difficult to decide which predominated most in producing her death—revenge,

or

or mistaken ideas of uncommon courage and its effects, when united with a belief of supernatural assistance.—The simple fact is, that Joan of Arc was a most extraordinary woman, fired with resentment against the invaders of her country, and possessed of uncommon energy of mind, courage, and sagacity; her advance from absolute obscurity into the rank of heroes, and the command of an army, and the confidence she inspired by her example, would almost tempt one to suppose she had been prompted by Heaven to accomplish a great purpose; but there was something so sublime and virtuous in her motives, that none besides her most inveterate enemies could imagine evil agency and sorcery fought on her side; unless we admit, that the Duke of Bedford, his officers, the bishops and others, who condemned her to the stake, were infatuated with superstition absurd beyond present conception, which we are tempted to believe was the case, from an occurrence that took place exactly ten years afterwards, when England was compelled to witness the malicious ambition and rivalship of the Cardinal of Winchester and the Duke of Gloucester.

The former, intent upon accomplishing the ruin of the latter, obtained information from the spies he had stationed in the Duke's family, that his lady held secret meetings with Sir Robert Bolingbroke and the witch of Eye. Bolingbroke was a priest and a mathematician; and, for the latter reason,

reason, strongly suspected of sorcery. The Cardinal knew he could not devise a more certain mode of destroying his enemies than by accusing them of practising arts of this description; he therefore publickly accused the Duchess and her agents of making a waxen image of the King, and gradually dissolving it before a fire, under the antient received impression, that the person represented would perish miserably in a similar manner. The unfortunate lady was immediately apprehended, and, after having been interrogated by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, was transferred to a tribunal composed of several earls, who, contrary to evidence, and without a shadow of proof, condemned her to perpetual imprisonment, after performing penance in St. Paul's church and two others three several days. Bolingbroke was hanged, and the witch of Eye burnt.

Comines mentions a circumstance which took place at the interview between Lewis XI. and our Edward IV., in confirmation of the assertion, that the English were implicit in their belief of the veracity of prophecies; one of which was quoted by them on every occasion. The two Monarchs met on the bridge at Picquiny, when the Bishop of Ely, Chancellor of England, observed, his nation had a prophecy a peace should be concluded between the two countries at that very place.

The Earl of Northampton says, that when the civil

civil war raged between the houses of York and Lancaster, the "books of beasts and babies," or prognostications by means of figures, "were exceeding rife and current in every quarter and corner of the realm, either side applying and interpreting as they were affected to the title." "Whoever," he observes, "were a loser by this match, I am sure the devil, whose guise it hath been to raise bubbles in a silent stream, devoured by this mean a world of harmless innocents."

Amongst the other superstitions of the day was the horrid idea, that the beds of the dying were surrounded by dæmons, who waited to seize upon the soul the moment of its departure, provided the person had not received the last sacrament, or confessed his sins. The presence of a priest or priests was supposed to produce great agitation amongst the infernal party; and when they had performed their office, angels descended, who received the purified spirit through the mouth, in the form of an infant; at least, such is the form given to it in antient drawings; while the satellites of Satan, howling with impotent rage, retired to execute new commissions for their master.

One of the most pernicious consequences arising from the corrupt state of religion was the Crusades, undertaken by every Christian power in Europe to recover the Holy Land from the Infidels who had usurped it. As this passion, originating with the Head of the Roman Catholic church,

church, formed a distinguished feature in the character of the British publick, it will be proper to enter into the subject with some degree of minuteness.—In the year 1382, Pope Urban issued a bull, directed to Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, an enterprising young prelate, directing him to raise forces, who, when levied, were to bear the mark of the cross; as if intended for an expedition to the Holy Land, but were really to be sent to oppose his rival Clement; against which Anti-pope the Bishop was authorised to use the sword, and destroy all his adherents and counsellors.

He also received the farther power of searching for, imprisoning, and confiscating, the goods of the enemies of Urban, to deprive them of spiritual or temporal employments, and to hold the receipts. To those who entered this army as volunteers and mercenaries the Pope granted full remission of their sins, and equal privileges with those obtained by a real crusade. Contributions in any way were to procure proportionable indulgences. And to render the army as effective as possible, the Bishop was permitted to excommunicate every description of persons, from the emperor to the slave, who interrupted his operations; besides compelling the religious to accompany it to any number the prelate thought expedient.

In pursuance of the powers granted by the bull, Spencer issued an ordinance, in the name of the

the Holy Church, and for the salvation of the realm, that a sufficient number of preachers should be immediately deputed to enforce the Crusades, each of whom was to be attended by a clerk, to register the names of the *men* obtained, and the sums contributed, as no female was to be permitted to attend this solemn armament without express licence from the Bishop. The preachers were commanded to exhort the people to make processions, and pray for the safety of the Church, and the success of the enterprize; and all curates were enjoined, under pain of excommunication, particularly in the act of confession, to urge their parishioners to contribute for the benefit of their souls.

Aware of the description of soldiers likely to be obtained, the whole were forbid to plunder till they reached their enemies. The absolution given on this occasion was as follows: "By apostolical authority to me in this behalf committed, we do absolve thee from all thy sins confessed with thy mouth, and for which thou art contrite in heart, and of which thou wouldst be confessed, if they did occur to thy memory; and do grant unto thee full forgivenness of all thy sins, and the retribution of the just; and we do promise thee an increase of eternal life. And we do also grant to thee as many privileges as are granted to those that go to the aid of the Holy Land. And furthermore, we do impart to thee the suffrages and

advantages

advantages of the prayers and good works of the whole catholic church."

This promise of future happiness met with a most flattering reception, and procured an incredible sum of money, exclusive of vast quantities of gold and silver plate, jewels, bracelets, rings, and other ornaments, worn by the ladies. As the obtaining of the above absolution saved the souls of the parties contributing, and enabled them to emancipate their deceased relatives from purgatory, besides ensuring the salvation of their living friends, it may be imagined that every valuable was sacrificed at the shrine of Pope Urban; and it seems to be the unanimous opinion of our antient writers, that almost every individual adult in the kingdom assisted in raising the Crusade. The robust and hardy male generally served personally, the timid and aged sent substitutes; but, in the midst of the preparations, a Parliament was assembled, in which it was asserted by the independent members, that much danger must occur from trusting so considerable a force and treasure to an inexperienced and rash priest.

This rational interposition was opposed on the grounds that the interests of Religion required exertion; and as the King of France then lay under the malediction of the Pope for espousing the cause of his enemy, a more proper opportunity could not be had to prosecute the British rights in that kingdom. Thus wavering on the subject,

subject, they were resolved by hearing these words sung, "*Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes adversæ;*" which receiving as a divine impulse, they assigned a fifteenth granted by the preceding Parliament for the express purpose of invading France.

Spencer, having exerted himself to the utmost of his ability, was ready with his army in Kent about the middle of May, where he received a command to attend the pleasure of the King; but the Bishop, dreading interruption, disobeyed it; and embarking before his troops, arrived at Calais. When they had joined him, he proceeded, capturing several towns; but as neither discipline nor experience directed the movements of the army, and as the soldiers, confiding in their absolution, rushed headlong into danger, the invaders were soon driven back with great loss; and Spencer was happy in escaping to England without paying the penalties of his intemperate zeal, by which he lost his temporalities in disobeying the mandates of his King.

Little need be said on the above historical facts, as no deductions from them can more fully demonstrate than themselves the gross and stupid superstition of the times from the throne to the peasant.

Froissart mentions a circumstance which forcibly illustrates a popular superstition of the time of Richard II., who "had a greyhound called Math,

Math, beautiful beyond measure, who would not notice nor follow any one but the King. Whenever the king rode abroad, the greyhound was loosed by the person who had him in charge, and ran instantly to caress him, by placing his two fore feet on his shoulders. It fell out, that as the King and the Duke of Lancaster were conversing in the court of the castle (Flint), their horses being ready for them to mount, the greyhound was untied; but, instead of running as usual to the King, he left him, and leaped to the Duke of Lancaster's shoulders, paying him every court, and caressing him as he was formerly used to caress the King. The Duke, not acquainted with this greyhound, asked the King the meaning of his fondness, saying, 'What does this mean?' 'Cousin,' replied the King, 'it means a great deal for you, and very little for me.' 'How?' said the Duke, 'pray explain it.' 'I understand by it,' answered the King, 'that this greyhound fondles and pays his court to you this day, as King of England, which you will surely be, and I shall be deposed; for the natural instinct of the dog shews it to him. Keep him therefore by your side; for he will now leave me and follow you.' The Duke of Lancaster treasured up what the King had said, and paid attention to the greyhound, who would never more follow Richard of Bourdeaux, but kept by the side of the Duke of Lancaster, as was witnessed by 30,000 men."

In

In a list of public follies, like the present, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the Egyptians, or Gypsies, who have long infested the environs of the metropolis, and contributed to keep alive the spirit of superstition amongst servants and other ignorant people. It has been, and still is, a matter of doubt and uncertainty, whence these wanderers originated, and when they originally reached England. It appears that they had become very numerous in the reign of Henry VIII.; and so extremely vicious, that an act of Parliament was made for their expulsion. This act mentions them as not having just then arrived, and as calling themselves Egyptians; asserts that they were outlandish people, and yet doth not inform us *how* they aggregated in such numbers; says they exercised neither trades nor merchandise, but procured subsistence by the practice of palmistry, and the commission of many horrid felonies and robberies. Under these circumstances we cannot wonder they were required to leave the country in sixteen days under severe penalties, and that all persons were forbid to bring them to England.

It seems impossible that they were conveyed here from the Continent in large bodies, as they must have thus attracted the notice of the Government; nor is it probable banishment from France or Holland caused their emigration here, as that would have been publickly known. In

this

this state of doubt, it may perhaps not be altogether unreasonable to imagine they may be the descendants of some Eastern nation disturbed by the Crusades; part of which might have attached themselves to the returning European armies, and, not mixing with the inhabitants in marriage, continued a distinct people. Despised and rejected, they naturally became plunderers and deceivers, to obtain subsistence: they increased rapidly, and at length were found in all parts of the country. As they were not seized and forcibly conveyed abroad, neither the above nor subsequent acts have entirely dispersed them, though it is evident they decrease through their vicious habits, and their wretched mode of living. Indeed, those who have seen them seated by their scanty fires on the wastes near villages, shivering with cold, wet, and objects of scorn on all sides, may almost be tempted to forgive their *artifices* in telling fortunes, though certainly not their thefts.

The Earl of Northampton relates, in his "Defensative of Cardinal Wolsey," that having been informed "that at Kingston he should end, would always rather ride about than pass through Kingston upon Thames, though it were his ready way from Asher to the Court. But afterwards, notwithstanding all this diligence, the man was committed, by the King's express commandment, to the charge of Sir Anthony Kingston, to be conveyed with all speed to the Tower, if upon discouragement

couragement and want of heart he had not fallen into a burning fever upon the way at Leicester, and there deceased." In this case, though every argument from reason and fact has been cited by the Earl against judicial astrology, he seems to wish to defeat himself merely through not referring to the true cause of the concurrence, or *accident.*

It is necessary to give some explanation of the unaccountable mixture of learning and madness which produced the reveries of Cabalists and similar characters; amongst whom, Dr. John Dee and Edward Kelly, his Prophet or Seer, were eminently conspicuous. There is a thick folio book, written by the former, called " A true and faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee (a mathematician of great fame in Queen Elizabeth and King James their reigns) and some spirits." It appears from the authority of Camden, who called him *Nobilis Mathematicus,* in 1572, and his own account of himself, that he was much valued in the earlier part of his life for his abilities in the science he cultivated. He wrote forty-eight different works, many of which were printed, and possessed a library composed of 700 antient manuscripts, and above 3000 printed books. He seems to have derived great credit from a mathematical preface prefixed to an edition of Euclid, and complained in it that he had early procured the reputation of

a con-

a conjuror. A letter written by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1594-5 has a paragraph to the same effect.

"But," says he, "the great losses and damages which in sundry sorts I have sustained, do not so much grieve my heart, as the rash, lewd, fond, and most untrue fables and reports of me and my studies philosophical have done, and yet do; which commonly, after their first hatching and devilish devising, immediately with great speed are generally all the realm overspread; and to some seem true, to others they are doubtful; and to only the wise, modest, discreet, godly, and charitable, (and chiefly to such as have some acquaintance with me,) they appear, and are known to be, fables, untruths, and utterly false reports and slanders." He then enters a most solemn and energetic protestation and invocation before and to the Divinity, of his firm belief in the common doctrines of Religion; and concludes by saying, that a commission appointed by Government to examine his papers had found *them harmless*, and that for thirty-six years he had never received a frown from Queen Elizabeth.

Whether the incantations of this madman were harmless, or did or did not operate upon the opinion and conduct of the people, may be gathered from his own words, when he says, they generally believed him to be a conjuror; and the commission, and above all, the confession of

Dr.

Dr. Meric Casaubon, who published the work mentioned above in 1659, under the auspices of Sir Robert Cotton, and "the Lord of Monagh's judgement and testimony," who informs us in his preface that he was not afraid to profess that he "never gave more credit to any humane history of former times."

"And truly, this one thing excepted, his *mistaking of evil spirits for good*, doth not appear by any thing but that he had his understanding, and *the perfect use of his reason to the very last*, as well as he had had at any time of his life." Can it after this be doubted, that even the Queen, who, in one instance, disdained not indulging this kind of folly, and the mass of her subjects, were infected; or that it had not descended to the interregnum?

I shall now give the reader an opportunity of judging for himself of the state of the public mind, when such monstrous impudence or ravings were received as truths: the former, in my opinion, preponderating.

Had Dee alone indulged in these reveries, we might have exclaimed in pity, "Too much learning hath made thee mad." But we cannot separate the agent in this business, Kelly, who saw every thing seen by Dee, a fellow who lost both his ears at Lancaster for raising a corpse from the grave, and pretending that he heard from it the fate of a young nobleman then ill. Indeed

it has been insinuated, that after having fled from England to the court of Rodolph the Second, Emperor of Germany, Elizabeth was weak enough to invite his clandestine return. Dee appears to have died involved in all the miseries of great age and merited neglect; Kelly, in consequence of a fall in effecting his escape from his residence to come to England.

"1607, Monday, 7th Sept. hora 7.

"This morning as *Bartholomew* had intended to be going homeward in the morning, and I not intending to move an action now, but committed all to God, *Bartholomew* was spoken unto by *Raphael.*

"*Command* John Dee *to come up into this place.*

"In the name of Jesus, and to the honour and glory of the most blessed Trinity. *Amen. Mittas, O omnipotens sempiterne et une Deus, lucem tuam et veritatem tuam, quæ nos ducant et perducant ad montem sanctum tuum et cœlestia tua tabernacula. Amen.*

"John Dee, I am the same blessed creature Raphael that did appear the last day but one in this place. I am at the commandment of the most highest to come unto your presence at this time; because thou shouldst very well know, that I Raphael am very ready at all times to come when God shall command me," &c.

It only remains to be said, that these commands were

were issued, according to Dr. Dee, through the medium of his holy tables, a stone of wonderful properties, and the book of Enoch.

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, entered his protest against the prevailing superstition of the times by a work published by him in 1583, intituled, "A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophecies, not hitherto confuted by the pen of any man; which, being grounded either upon the warrant and authority of old printed books, expositions of dreams, oracles, revelations, invocations of damned spirits, judicials of astrology, or any other kind of pretended knowledge whatsoever, *de futuris contingentibus*, have been causes of great disorder in the commonwealth, especially among the simple and unlearned people." The arguments used by this nobleman in his work would now be considered futile and useless; but at the period we are treating of, they were doubtlessly extremely necessary, and must have carried conviction to those who had sufficient education to understand them. We may judge of the extent of the evil he endeavours to remove by several passages, particularly in the following: "The grounds," he observes, in his epistle dedicatory to Sir Francis Walsingham, "against which I have bent my battery, are perilous to the peace and quiet of a commonwealth; the persons which profess them are, for the most part, *infestis regibus*, and either practice to open wounds of disgrace

and jealousy, which were first inflicted by their glowing tongues; or, like surgeons and sextons, thrive and wax more wealthy by the dearth and plague of the common people."

He afterwards speaks of the pliant readiness of brain-sick fools to cherish idle dreams and fancies, to ascribe divinity to vain conceits, flattering themselves into a belief of the occurrence of things utterly impossible, and crediting the assertions of Mountebanks, of whom there is every reason to suppose there was more than *quant. suf.* "We need not rifle," he adds, "in the monuments of former times, so long as the present age wherein we live may furnish us with store of most strange examples; for, though we have been yearly mated, and abused with blind almanacks in such sort, as whosoever buys the same as directories, either of the weather or of the world, may be truly said to be made a fool for good luck sake upon the first of January."

The vulgar of the Earl's time lived in fear of approaching civil war, after the appearance of an aurora borealis; and when the rapidity of currents, caused by heavy rains, rendered the different rivers discoloured with particles of earth, they rejoiced in the omen, because it portended plenty of grain and other things. A lady with whom he was acquainted, extremely desirous of viewing an eclipse about to take place, imagined herself influenced by it, and "was presently tormented with

with a grievous fit and passion of the mother." A physician consulted on the occasion, however, assured her, that as numbers of others, similarly situated with herself, had seen it uninjured, he must beg leave to ascribe her pangs to a cold caught while attending to the motions of the planets.

Speaking of the universal dread of calamities succeeding the appearance of comets, Howard informs us, *Peucer* prognosticated, that our bodies should be parched and burned up with heat. But how fell it out? Forsooth we had not a more unkindly summer many years, in respect of extraordinary cold, never less inclination to war, no prince deceased in that time. The germ of reason and good sense had begun to expand, the court set the example, and the fruits have at length ripened into perfection.

" Behold a woman and a queen," exclaims the author, " that relenteth not to common fear, but insulteth rather upon common folly," whose soul was elevated equal to her regal power, as will be amply proved by the following anecdote related by him: " How many comets have been seen within these five-and-twenty years, before and after which, her Majesty hath ever increased, rather than appayred, the sound state of her body? I can affirm thus much as a present witness by mine own experience, that whereas divers (upon greater scrupulosity than cause) went about to dissuade

suade her Majesty (lying then at Richmond) from looking on the comet which appeared last: with a courage answerable to the greatness of her state, she caused the window to be set open, and cast out this word, *Jacta est alea*, the dice are thrown; affirming that her stedfast hope and confidence was too firmly planted in the providence of God to be blasted or affrighted with those beams, which either had a ground in nature whereupon to rise, or at least no warrant out of Scripture to portend the mishap of princes."

How pitiful and contemptible does the "proper scholler" he afterwards mentions appear in comparison with his sovereign, "who, declining from the course of physick, wherein he was reasonably entered, to gaze on Charles his wayn upon the top of a steeple, became more fit at length to ring a bell and drive a cart, than either to give a diet or prescribe a medicine."

It appears from the same source that cabalists were enabled to make their way to the palace. An aged man, named Brocardo, about six days before the writing of the Defensative, was found there by the Earl, who was informed by him, that he was ready to foretel the fate of the Low Countries by his art magic; but the arguments he used in support of his assertion were so absurd that Master Brocardo was easily confounded.

Cardinal Pole, a few years before, gave an astrologer his quietus in a very handsome manner.

The

The wise man assured his eminence that he was destined for the highest and most important employments; to which the prelate replied, "That whatsoever was portended by the figure of his birth or generation, according to the course of flesh, was cancelled and altered, according to the grace of his second birth or regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, in the blood of his Redeemer."

Lord Arundel, contemporary with the Earl of Northampton, equally despising the false assertions and inferences of the most valued cabalists of their time, was in the habit of making notes in his almanacks at the commencement of each year, as contrary and repugnant as possible to those of the astronomer; or, if you please, astrologer: "and yet," says the Earl, "upon account of minutes, hours, days, and quarters, at the ending of the year, for so much as concerned change of weather, my lord's notes were found more often true (although they were set down by chance) than his that stood upon the warrant of a learned counsel."

In 1558, the calculators or wise men pronounced that an universal disorder would sweep from the land of the living all the cattle of England; but, to their total disappointment, universal plenty prevailed. At another time, the inhabitants of our worthy city were terrified through the same means with a dreadful overflow of water, which induced a pious abbot of the day to build himself

himself a tabernacle on the summit of Harrow hill; "but the conclusion is," says our author, "that before summer was half spent, all the ditches were drawn dry, and the cattle perished for lack of water." Such, indeed, were the diabolical operations of these wretched *calculators*, that an universal ferment existed amongst the lower classes, which the civil power was employed to allay, though it is impossible the government could find a more difficult task, or one more necessary. "As it chanced oftentimes that pamphlets which prognosticated famine have been causes of the same, not by the malice of the planets, which are toys, but by the greediness of husbandmen; who, being put in fear of such a storm, partly by forestallment, and as often by the secret hoarding up of grain, enhance the prices in respect of scarcity: so divers noble gentlemen, which never once conceived evil of their prince within their hearts, for fear least the birds of Heaven should descry their secret thoughts, being put in deadly fear (of their own decay) by fools, and affrighted by these images, disguised with a rusty flourish of antiquity to deceive the more, have entered into great matters and undutiful attempts, to the ruin both of their lives and honours, though the ground of all were rather to provide for their own security, than any meaning to forsake the bond of allegiance, or to offend their sovereign."

We

We find by this excellent reasoner, that though before the Reformation Merlin's prophecies were most reverently and cautiously chained to the desks of almost every library in the country, the dissolution of monasteries made woeful havock with the illuminated cabalistic books, many of which, extant in his time, he speaks of as merely modern. "Surely for the most part so they are, as may be gathered, either by the colours, or the garments, or the slubbering of set purpose, to bestow some greater grace and colour of antiquity." "Aristotle telleth in his Rhetorics that the manner of bad painters is, to write the name of that which they set forth (because the people may not err in deeming of a subject), without either shape or almost shadow of the things which it ought to resemble by the lines of imitation. But our painters dealing worse with us, so as they may both match and overmatch those old ones, in ignorance of representing lively shews of future times; so leave they not one mark or title to express either what the persons are, or when the times shall fall, but make profit of our easiness to be misled, and peevishly, instead of shining lamps which should give light to doubtful steps, they send us leaden rules of Lesbos, to be writhed by abuse or malice to the fitting of all fancies. Thus with a side wind they sail sundry ways, and, like skilful bargemen, bend their forces one way when they look another."

The

The inventors and distributors of these fancies are described as seducing children with the exhibition of them, who, delighted with the display of gaudy colours, were readily taught implicit faith in the explanations. Superstitious aged persons, women, "*which are no less ready to be deceived than to seduce and deceive others,*" and malcontents: hence an universal proneness to terror and the belief of things contrary to the established laws of Nature, of which the Earl gives several examples. "At the funeral of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, my great grandfather, so violent a fear surprized all the multitude, being very diligent and attentive to the sermon in the church of Thetford, as all run out with haste, leaving the preacher alone in the pulpit. The like fell out in St. Mary's church at Oxford, in the time of King Henry the VIIIth. And again, at the death of the late Duke of Somerset. They are caused sometimes to believe, that the stars will fall, that doomsday is at hand, that the world shall be consumed such a time with fire, and of late, that they should be drowned almost with a second flood."

The civil law had before this time noticed these cabalists by the name *Magorum et Magicis carminibus assuetorum*, of magicians, and men inured to the charms of magic; besides, general and provincial councils had consigned them to the devil as their grand patron. "Such," observes the Earl, "are the sorcerers and witches now a days,

days, which have their sundry charms for all diseases—one for the tooth-ache, another for a mad dog. For what godly reason can any man alive alledge why Mother Joane of Stow, speaking these words, and neither more than less—

'Our Lord was the first man
That ever thorn prick'd upon:
It never blysted, nor it never belted,
And I pray God, nor this not may,'

should cure either beasts or men and women from diseases."

Reginald Scot, Esq. wrote forcibly against the knavery and confederacy of conjurors, the impious blasphemy of enchanters, the imposture of soothsayers, and infidelity of atheists, the delusions of Pythonists, figure casters, astrologers, and vanity of dreamers, the fruitless beggarly art of alchymistry, the horrible art of poisoning, and all the tricks and conveyances of juggling and legerdemain, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This gentleman dedicated his book in 1584 to the right worshipful Sir Thomas Scot, knight, a relative, who had "among other malefactors many poor old women convented" before him "for working of miracles." The very excellent advice offered as to his subsequent conduct on such occasions enables us to judge of the nature of the charges generally preferred against the helpless aged females alluded to, before the date of the work. "See," says the worthy writer, "first whether the

the evidence be not frivolous, and whether the proofs brought against them be not incredible, consisting of guesses, presumptions, and impossibilities, contrary to reason, to Scripture, and Nature. See also what persons complain upon them, whether they be not of the basest, the unwisest, and most faithless kind of people.

"Also, may it please you to weigh what accusations and crimes they lay to their charge;" which he defines to be those arising from the most common expressions of disappointment on being denied a favour — such as the refusal of a bason of milk, followed by the death of a child, a sow, or a pullet. "I have further proof (if it please your worship) — I was with a *wise woman*, and she told me I had an ill neighbour, and that she would come to my house ere it were long, and so she did; and that she had a mark above her waist, and so had she; and, God forgive me, my stomach hath gone against her a great while. Her mother before her was counted a witch; *she hath been beaten and scratched by the face till blood was drawn upon her, because she hath been suspected;* and afterwards some of those persons were said to amend. These are the certainties that I hear in their evidences." The adversaries Mr. Scot most feared were "*young ignorance* and *old custom*." "Alas!" he adds in his Epistle, "I am sorry and ashamed to see how many die, that, being said to be bewitched, only seek for magical cures, whom wholesome

wholesome diet and good medicines would have recovered." After knowing this fact, it will be allowed that every thing should be given that research will afford on this trait in the general character of our ancestors.

I shall therefore carefully examine the work before me, which is calculated to give a very perfect insight into the subject, particularly as the belief of evil supernatural agency predominated so as to make "faithless people persuaded, that neither hail nor snow, thunder nor lightning, rain nor tempestuous wind, come from the heavens at the commandment of God, but are raised by the cunning and power of witches and conjurors; insomuch as a clap of thunder, or a gale of wind, is no sooner heard, but either they run to ring bells, or cry out to burn witches, or else burn consecrated things, hoping by the smoke thereof to drive the devil out of the air." "But, if all the devils in hell were dead, and all the witches in England burned or hanged, I warrant you," says Mr. Scot, "we should not fail to have hail, rain, and tempests, as we now have."

We have already mentioned the fears of this writer that aged *innocence* should suffer; but it appears from another paragraph that *professed* witches had attained "such credit as I have heard to my grief some of the Ministry affirm, that they have had in their parish at one instant *seventeen or eighteen* witches — meaning such as could work

work miracles supernaturally;" and if we may interpret the following words, they seem to imply those Ministers admitted the existence of those powers. Indeed, an instance is given of a prosecution instituted against Margaret Simmons by John Ferrall, vicar of Brenchly, in Kent, in 1581, for bewitching his son, a petulant boy, who pursued the poor woman's dog with a knife to her door, and some time afterwards was taken ill in consequence of the reproof Dame Simmons gave him. "And truly if one of the jury had not been wiser than the other, she had been condemned thereupon." His portrait of the witch is interesting.

"One sort of such as are said to be witches are women which be commonly old, lame, bleer-eyed, pale, foul, and full of wrinkles, poor, sullen, superstitious, and papists, or such as know no religion; in whose drowsy minds the devil hath got a fine seat: so on what mischief, mischance, calamity, or slaughter, is brought to pass, they are easily persuaded the same is done by themselves, imprinting in their minds an earnest and constant imagination thereof. They are lean and deformed, shewing melancholy in their faces to the horror of all that see them. They are doting scolds, mad, devilish, and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits: so firm and stedfast in their opinions as whosoever shall only have respect to the constancy of their words

words uttered, would easily believe they were true indeed.

"These miserable wretches are so odious unto all their neighbours, and so feared as few dare offend them, or deny them any thing they ask; whereby they take upon them, yea, and sometimes think, that they can do such things as are beyond the ability of human nature. These go from house to house, and from door to door, for a pot of milk, yeast, drink, pottage, or some such relief, without the which they could hardly live; neither obtaining for their service and pains, nor yet by their art, nor yet at the devil's hands (with whom they are said to make a perfect and visible bargain) either beauty, money, promotion, wealth, worship, pleasure, honour, knowledge, learning, or any other benefit whatsoever.

"It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities nor their expectation is answered or served in those places where they beg or borrow, but rather their lewdness is by their neighbours reproved. And further, in tract of time the witch waxeth odious and tedious to her neighbours, and they again are despised and despited of her, so as sometimes she curseth one, and sometimes another, and that from the master of the house, his wife, children, cattle, &c. to the little pig that lieth in the stye. Thus in process of time they have all displeased her, and she hath wished evil luck unto them all, perhaps with curses and imprecations

precations made in form. Doubtless at length some of her neighbours die or fall sick, or some of their children are visited with diseases that vex them strangely, as apoplexies, epilepsey, convulsions, hot fevers, worms, &c. which by ignorant parents are supposed to be the vengeance of witches; yea, and their opinions and conceits are confirmed and maintained by unskilful physicians, according to the common saying, *Inscitiæ pallium maleficium et incantatio,* witchcraft and enchantment is the cloak of ignorance; whereas indeed evil humours, and not strange words, of witches or spirits are the causes of such diseases.

"The witch on the other side, expecting her neighbours' mischances, and seeing things sometimes come to pass, according to her wishes, curses, and incantations, being called before a justice, by due examination of the circumstances, is driven to see her imprecations and desires, and her neighbours' harms and losses to concur, and, as it were, to take effect; and so confesseth that she hath brought such things to pass. Another sort of witches there are, which be absolutely coseners. These take upon them either for glory, fame, or gain, to do any thing which God or the devil can do." Thus a witch, executed a few years before, confessed that she had raised all the tempests, and caused all the frosts, which took place in the year 1565.

I shall hereafter have occasion to mention several

ral of the traits of Superstition remaining in the reign of Charles the First; but some of the following seem to have been forgotten. The ladies and *effeminate* men, as Scot calls them, were in the habit of making various divinations on the falling of salt or spilling of wine; when an unfortunate stumble, or the capers of a horse, threw his rider, the time of the occurrence was carefully noted, and corresponding hours were considered as dangerous to the party; those who met with an accident in the course of the day were in the habit of endeavouring to recollect whether they stumbled at the threshold, or had met a cat or hare at first going out in the morning; when a person sneezed at rising in the morning before they had put on their shoes, they thought themselves compelled to go to bed again, to avert impending evils; others held the thumb of the left hand fast in the right when troubled with the hiccough; and, during the singing of the gospel, the superstitious held their chin with the right hand, each for similar reasons to the above.

Dreadful calamity was supposed to attend the accidental passage of a child between two friends walking together—nothing less than the dissolution of the connexion. Under the head of *Charms*, Mr. Scot gives an incredible variety of information; but these charms against every casualty and disease are too numerous even for a catalogue of them.

When a monarch, who nearly possessed absolute power, reigned over a superstitious people, and was himself a slave to that degrading propensity, we cannot be surprized a system of cruelty and persecution prevailed in the courts of justice against the deformed and haggard females, described by Mr. Scot as witches, in the preceding reign. What can be more disgraceful to the age of James I. than the following lines from his Dæmonology? "The fearful abounding at this time in this country of these detestable slaves of the devil, the witches or enchanters, hath moved me (beloved reader) to dispatch in post, this following treatise of mine: not in any wise (as I protest) for a shew of my learning and ingine; but only moved of conscience, to press thereby, so far as I can, to resolve the doubting hearts of many, both that such assaults of Satan are most certainly practised, and that the instruments thereof *merit most severely to be punished*—against the *damnable opinions* of two principally in our age, whereof the one *called Scott*, an Englishman, *is not ashamed in public print to deny that there can be such a thing as witchcraft*."

The courtiers of James I. earnestly pressed him not to remove the remains of Mary Queen of Scotland from the place of their deposit to Westminster; as it was a received opinion of the observing part of the world, that evil invariably attended that family under such circumstances.

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The King was deaf to their remonstrances, and, wonderful to relate! Prince Henry and Queen Anne died not very long after his pious act. A successor of undoubted courage and conduct, who braved death in very dreadful forms, shrunk from the omen of a whale taken at Greenwich, which, he fancied, foretold his exit—even Oliver the Protector.

Aubrey relates an extraordinary circumstance which occurred when he was a *freshman* at Oxford, in 1642. Charles I. then resided at the University, and Aubrey frequently went to Christ Church to see the King at supper: on one of these occasions, he heard him say, "That as he was hawking in Scotland he rode into the quarry, and found the covey of partridges falling upon the hawk;" and he adds, that the Monarch said, "I will swear upon the book that it is true."

Lady Anne Davys, wife of Sir John Davys, lord chief justice in Ireland, and sister to the Earl of Castlehaven, inspired by the demon of superstition, prophesied many important events in the early part of the reign of Charles I., for which she was imprisoned in the Tower of London. This lady foretold her husband's death while in the Tower.

The Anatomy of Melancholy, by Burton, gives a clear view of the superstition of the reign of Charles I. This whimsical and amusing author speaks of amulets or charms or preservatives

against particular diseases or misfortunes, as " not altogether to be rejected." " Piony doth cure epilepsy, pretious stones most diseases, a wolf's dung borne with one helps the cholick, a spider an ague, &c. Being in the country in the vacation time, not many years since, at Lindley, in Leicestershire, my father's house, I first observed this amulet of a spider in a nut-shell lapped in silk, &c., so applied for an ague by my mother, whom, although I knew to have excellent skill in chirurgery, sore eyes, aches, &c., and such experimental medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks, that were otherwise destitute of help; yet, among all other experiments, this, methought, was most absurd and ridiculous; I could see no warrant for it. *Quid aranea cum febre?* For what antipathy? till at length rambling amongst the authors (as often I do) I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, repeated by Alderovandus, *cap. de Aranea, lib. de Insectis,* I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience. Such medicines are to be exploded that consist of words, characters, spells, and charms, which can do no good at all, but out of a strong conceit, as Pomponatius proves, or the devil's policy, who is the first founder and teacher of them."

How

How very near the verge of common sense the superstitious may arrive, appears by the last words of the above quotation; but where was this invaluable quality when Burton at the beginning of it introduces the virtues of wolf's dung and dried spiders in curing the cholick and ague? We may, however, derive some information from it—that a more innocent method of repelling diseases than incantations was dawning upon the mind of the superstitious.

A circumstance occurred on the 30th of July 1643, which explains part of the general character of the people, and promotes my plan of illustrating the superstitious tendency of their minds. The Earl of Kingston of that period had the reputation of an excellent man, not less celebrated for his great possessions than for the benevolent use of his income. Lloyd, who gave an account of the loyalists most attached to the fortune of Charles I. mentions, that the Earl supplied him with two thousand soldiers, procured arms and money from others to the amount of £.24,000, and vigorously opposed the army of the Parliament in person, till he was surprized at Gainsborough by Lord Willoughby of Parham, who, having made him prisoner, sent him on board a pinnace to be conveyed to Hull, as he was considered one of the most dangerous partizans against the new order of things. Sir Charles Cavendish, actuated by the sincerest loyalty, and eager to

recover

recover a man of so much importance to the king, demanded the Earl, of Willoughby, who refusing, the imprudent Cavendish commanded his soldiers to fire upon the vessel from a drake or cannon, which was done with so unfortunate an aim, that the Earl and his servant were killed. Enraged at the result of his endeavours to save his friend, Sir Charles destroyed every person found in the pinnace.

Such was the fact as related by our historians. I shall now give the popular opinion on the subject in the words of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson: "The Earl of Kingston, a few months, stood neuter, and would not declare himself of either party, and being a man of great wealth and dependence, many people hung in suspence by his example; whereupon the gentlemen of Nottingham often spoke to his son to persuade his father to declare himself; but he told them, he knew his father's affections were firm to the Parliament, that he had encouraged him to join with them, and promised him money to carry it on, and such like things, which he continually assured them, till the Colonel's cold behaviour, and some other passages, made them at length, those at least who were firm to the cause, jealous both of the father and the son. Hereupon when the danger grew more imminent, and my Lord lay out a brave prey to the enemy, they sent Captain Lomax, one of the committee, to understand his affections

from

from himself, and to press him to declare for the Parliament in that so needful season. My Lord professing himself to him rather desirous of peace, and fully resolved not to act on either side, made a serious imprecation on himself in these words: 'When,' said he, 'I take arms with the King against the Parliament, or with the Parliament against the King, let a cannon bullet divide me between them;' *which God was pleased to bring to pass* a few months after: for he, going into Gainsborough, and there taking up arms for the King, was surprized by my lord Willoughby, and, after a handsome defence of himself, yielded, and was put prisoner into a pinnance, and sent down the river to Hull, when my lord Newcastle's army, marching along the shore, shot at the pinnace, and, being in danger, the Earl of Kingston went up upon the deck to shew himself, and to prevail with them to forbear shooting; but, as soon as he appeared, a cannon bullet flew from the King's army, and divided him in the middle, being then in the Parliament's pinnance, who perished according to his own unhappy imprecation."

Sir Thomas Brown affords us an opportunity of knowing that all the following superstitious fancies were in vogue when he wrote his enquiries into vulgar and common errors, the majority of which were certainly received from the earliest ages by tradition. The hare crossing a highway portend-

ing

ing danger; the owl and raven screaming similar evils; the falling of salt presaging ill luck; the breaking or crushing an egg-shell to pieces, lest witches should draw or prick their names thereon; the present of the true lover's knot to the person beloved; the conceit that absent persons are talking of those whose cheek burned or ear tingled; speaking under the rose; smoke following the fairest; sitting cross-legged, or with the fingers shut together, being unlucky; the stated times of paring the nails and cutting of hair, to preserve present good fortune; the preserving the hair on moles; the fear of cutting elve locks, or complicated hairs on the head, and of those locks extending in length beyond their neighbours. "Many conceive," he observes, "there is somewhat amiss, and that, as we usually say, they are unblest, until they put on their girdle." "Great conceits are raised of the involution or membraneous covering, commonly called the *Silly how*, that sometimes is found about the heads of children upon their birth; and is therefore preserved with great care, not only as medical in diseases, but effectual in success, concerning the infant and others;" and last, not least, in this curious catalogue, that it is good to be drunk once a month.

Richard Baxter, the non-conformist divine, as credulous as the meanest of his congregation, had sufficient folly to write an octavo on the certainty of the world of spirits; which he attempted to evince

evince by a farrago of "unquestionable histories of apparitions and witchcrafts:" one of those will be enough for our purpose, particularly as it is a tragical story, and makes one almost despise human nature as it was at the date of his relation. Mary, the daughter of Edward Ellins, of the borough of Evesham, in the county of Worcester, gardener, a child about ten years of age, in company with others, went into a field to gather cowslips, where they saw Catherine Huxley, a woman about forty, in a ditch. Mary called the female a witch, and attempted to throw a stone at her. Huxley, provoked at the assault, declared she should have stones enough, as the girl reported. From this time Miss Ellins had symptoms of the gravel, or rather of the *flint;* for that, it seems, was the description of stones she voided: and, considering the nature of the fact, it will not be thought surprizing she suffered violent pangs. "This she did for some space (a month or two or thereabouts), until upon some strong suspicions of witchcraft, the forenamed Huxley was apprehended, examined, and searched; at whose bed-head there were found several stones, such as the said Mary voided, and was sent to Worcester, where, at the summer assizes, in the said year 1652 (then at hand), she was, upon the prosecution of the friends of the said Mary, condemned and executed."

The

The sequel of this shocking affair is, that, Huxley being dead, the girl voided no more stones.

Glanvil, F.R.S. and chaplain in ordinary to the King, wrote "Saducismus Triumphatus, or full and plain evidence concerning witches and apparitions;" the second edition of which was published in 1682. This gentleman's work and Mr. Baxter's, appearing not long after each other, serves to prove how very prevalent this madness was, which might indeed be traced from the King and the Protector down to the very dustman. Indeed, these labours in the aggregate furnish so many instances of what may be called *legal murder* of women, that we close their books with abhorrence, arising from the superstitious malice of the accuser, the enormity of the judges, and the wickedness of the juries, who brought so many wretches to an untimely end.

Samuel Clarke gives a curious specimen of his own superstition, and, by inference, that of his contemporary readers, in the succeeding anecdote.—Master White of Dorchester, being a member of the Assembly of Divines, was appointed minister of Lambeth; but, for the present, could get no convenient house to dwell in, but one that was possessed by the devil: this he took; and not long after, his maid sitting up late, the devil appeared to her, whereupon, in a great fright,

fright, she ran up to tell her master; he bid her go to bed, saying, she was well served for sitting up so late. Presently after, the devil appeared to Master White himself, standing at his bed feet: to whom Master White said, "If thou hast nothing else to do, thou mayst stand there still, and I will betake myself to my rest;" and accordingly, composing himself to sleep, the devil vanished.

In the Sermons of Dr. Bolton may be found a most curious anecdote of bigoted superstition.—Lady Honeywood, terrified by a misconception of the Scriptures, or affected with mental infirmity, despaired of obtaining salvation, after having used a spell to cure her of some disease. The Divine was one day endeavouring to remove this unhappy fancy, when, with a frantic air, she seized a Venice glass, and, dashing it from her, exclaimed, "I shall as certainly be damned as this glass will be broken." Contrary to all rational supposition, the glass was not broken. Still the slave of superstition, she became calm and placid: she was not to be damned. I need not add the glass was carefully preserved.

A second instance of the superstition of Oliver Cromwell has been mentioned by Aubrey, or perhaps he was less superstitious than artful:—A Divine impulse occurring before the hour of battle was an useful hint to his officers and soldiers, that victory would attend their exertions. Colonel J. P. told Aubrey that a fit of laughter seized

Cromwell

Cromwell before the battle of Naseby, similar to one which he experienced before that of Dunbar, when "he did laugh so excessively as if he had been drunk; his eyes sparkled with spirits. He obtained a great victory, but the action was said to be contrary to human prudence."

Richard Saunders, student in astrology and physick, did all in his power to perpetuate the blind superstition of his forefathers by publishing several works, particularly "The Astrological Judgement and Practice of Physick, deduced from the position of the heavens at the decumbiture of the sick persons; Palmistry, the secrets thereof disclosed; and Physiognomie and Chiromancie, 1653."—The absurdity, presumption, and folly, of this man, his learning and research, offer a melancholy picture of the perversion of talents and acquirements, directed to maintain all the unpleasant consequences felt by the mass of the community, through their belief in the occult sciences. Lilly lived to see these works spread in every direction, and more than once recommended them: for instance, "Being now (by the mercy of a most gracious God) arrived to my 76th year current; and of late years having passed through much sickness and affliction of body (which has too much decayed my sight), it cannot be expected that *I should oblige the world* with any thing of this subject, which once I had thoughts to have attempted; and not only enlarged the judgements

judgements upon the sixth house in my Introduction (which, as it is, is sufficient for the instruction of any young student); but also to have communicated to the grateful sons of art divers remarkable experiments in the astrological considerations of diseases from the decumbiture of the sick, touching life and death," &c.

"I hope, therefore, this most elaborate work of my old friend may instead thereof be accepted; in which, I find, he has (to his great commendation) taken much pains to good purpose, and in every branch thereof is very copious and no less perspicuous, both in the theory and practical part (which hitherto has been neglected by most authors that have undertaken this task in the English tongue); so that I may, without the least partiality, affirm the work to be the most complete and perfect of any of the subject I have hitherto seen or read; and do heartily rejoice (though now in my declining years) to see so learned a production proceed from an English pen. In fine, the work deserves commendation, and I do really approve thereof, and recommend it to the serious study and perusal of all the noble students of this kingdom; *which now I live to see abounds with many hopeful and ingenious persons, that are not only lovers of but students in the syderal science;* notwithstanding the contempt and opposition it has met withal from some busy sciolists as *ignorant as envious.* Whence I conclude, this most

useful

useful and harmless art may, in few years, arrive to great perfection, and consequently daily meet with eminent and noble favourites to protect it from calumny and detraction; though I dare not affirm (as that bold Pretender lately did) that Ptolemy is now become as demonstrable to the senses as Euclid.

"Much more might be said, but the work speaks its own praise, and I do but hold a candle to the sun. I shall, therefore, conclude with that old proverb, 'Good wine needs no bush.' *Vale*, your old friend and *faithful propagator* of astrology. "WILLIAM LILLY."

"*From my house in Horsham, in the parish of Walton upon Thames*, 1677."

A plate from the work on Chiromancy is annexed, to explain the ridiculous and unmeaning distribution of the signs over the hands, which would puzzle a modern Gypsey: as to the explanations given by the author, were we to repeat them, it would indeed be holding a candle to the sun. Saunders pursued his design in a treatise on moles; and, without doubt, his one hundred and fourteen examples, with their prognostics, served to introduce or continue a custom in the inhabitants of London of examining whether nature had lavished any on them.

Thomas Bromhall, with indefatigable assiduity, collected an amazing number of antient and modern

dern instances of the appearance of spectres, &c., which he published in folio about the time of Charles I. or II., as the title of the copy before me is imperfect. These he called "A Treatise of Spectres; or an history of apparitions, oracles, prophecies, and predictions, with dreams, visions, and revelations."

Sir Thomas Brown enables us to give a further insight into the superstitious practice of wearing amulets, who very sagaciously enquires what natural effects could possibly be supposed to follow the suspension of a hollow stone in a stable to prevent the ephialtes or night mare, or the chips of a gallows worn on the person to guard against an ague, or rubbing the hands before the moon to cure warts, or committing any maculated part to the touch of the dead. It seems it was a female doctrine, that the first rib of roasted beef powdered is an excellent remedy against fluxes, and that "if a child dieth, and the neck becometh not stiff, but for many hours remaineth lithe and flaccid, some other in the same house will die not long after; (and) that if a woman with child looketh upon a dead body, her child will be of a pale complexion." And yet this man denied not the influence of the stars, nor did he "condemn a sober and regulated astrology."

The aurora borealis, now so generally understood to be the effects of the electrical fluid in particular states of the atmosphere, occasioned great

great terror in the reigns of Charles, his successor, and James II., which had, in all probability, been the case very long before; but as printing was unknown, we have only the accounts of Stowe and others repeated from traditions or MS. of their effects upon the public mind. We cannot but lament, on reading the periodical publications of the reigns alluded to, and even something later, the horrors that weak imaginations formed from the beautiful coruscations of this inexplicable matter, which assumes so many shapes, and so many colours, and which is visible and invisible at the same instant. One instance, extracted from the True Protestant Mercury of January 1st, 1680-1, will serve for an epitome of all that might be cited from our antient chronicles on this head. "We had last week an account of a strange and terrible apparition seen in the air at Exeter; but, being very cautious not to emit any thing but matters of truth, and very far from any intent to disturb people with a noise of fictitious prodigies, we then forebore to mention. But, hearing that the same is since confirmed and attested by persons of unquestionable credit, we shall now give it the reader, in the very words wherein it was communicated to us.

"*Exeter, Dec. 25th,* 1680.—Tuesday night last, several credible and intelligent persons, retiring into a convenient place in this city to view the appearance of the blazing comet, which very dreadfully

dreadfully dilated itself in the western part of the heavens. As we were discoursing our several conjectures upon its portents, on the sudden we beheld very perspicuous in the air two voluminous clouds, directly drawing to each other, one whereof *coming from the North* plainly discovered itself to be an army of soldiers; and, being met, they both appeared so, and engaged in a very dreadful manner, the conflict continuing half an hour; and at length the former seemed to give way as vanquished, with their general, being perceived to have a coronet on his head. This strange event caused in all of us amazement and astonishment: and I do not write this as a fiction or hearsay, but it was visible to myself, and some hundreds of people besides; so that it can sufficiently be attested, being as certainly true as dreadful." As this account is corroborated by similar relations from other parts of the country, there cannot be a doubt that an aurora borealis, and not the imagination of an individual, caused the alarm.

The variety of ways in which I have demonstrated the amazing superstition of the people makes the following extract from the Protestant Mercury probable in part, though the conclusion is decidedly untrue. Had not the same publication given solemn testimonies in favour of the editor's firm belief in signs, wonders, and prodigies, I should have supposed the story to be a *witty*

witty correction of the folly of believing in witchcraft.

"On Monday last, March 26th, 1682, about one of the clock in the afternoon, came four women, well-habited, into the Blue Boar Inn, in Holborn, and going to the dunghill there, they opened a hole in it about a foot and an half deep, where they placed a bottle with the neck downwards, in which, they say, was a girl's u—e, that was said to be bewitched; and that they had been advised by a skilful chemist to put therein mercury, needles, pins, and other magical ingredients, and to bury it in a dunghill, which they did, covering the bottle, and sat them down to work, that none might meddle with it, where they continued sitting (a great concourse of people visiting them and wondering at them) till the next morning, when the woman supposed to be the witch appeared in a very swollen condition and demanded the bottle, which they resolutely denying, and opposing her from meddling with it, she at last was forced to leave them, with many dreadful imprecations. About one of the clock the same day, they say, that news was brought them the witch was dead, and that the girl was perfectly recovered; at which they, much rejoicing, took up their bottle and departed."

Aubrey was deeply infected with the vapours of superstition; and, with more labour than profit, collected what he termed Miscellanies from

various

various authors, to which he added his own observations. A selection from those will serve to shew the general tendency this way.—Sir Kenelm Digby, whom Aubrey terms a great linguist and magazine of arts, is said to have been born, fought fortunately, and died, on the eleventh of June: hence it must be inferred, that this was his lucky or unlucky day. That he was born, was certainly beneficial to science; that he was not killed in battle, was happy for himself and the "arts;" but who shall decide the rest? We must acknowledge with the last lines of his epitaph by Farrar—

"'Tis rare, that one and self-same day should be
His day of birth, of death, of victory."

Aubrey thought himself of some little consequence, and discovered that the third of November, his own birth-day, had been distinguished by several very important events in antient history; indeed he was convinced, that the final overflow of a piece of marsh-land belonging to him on this inauspicious day had some reference to the fatal inundation of the Godwin Sands, 580 years before, that too happening on the third of November.

This famous city of London had its unlucky houses in the time of this Wiseacre, whose fancies were no doubt far from singular. The Fleece tavern, York-street, Covent Garden, was one of these doleful piles of brick and mortar, and wit-

nessed many homicides; three of which occurred within Aubrey's knowledge: a handsome brick mansion, on the south side of Clerkenwell churchyard, had so bad a name for ill-luck, that it was seldom tenanted for at least forty years, and finally quite deserted: another in Holborn had no less than six tenants, not one of whom were fortunate in it: one opposite Charing Cross was the place where Lady Baynton died: a few years after Lady Hoby, her sister, finished her mortal career there of the small pox; and twenty years later the same disease was fatal to their nephew on these pernicious premises.

"The last summer," says Aubrey, "on the day of St. John Baptist, 1694, I accidentally was walking in the pasture behind Montague-house: it was 12 o'clock. I saw there about two or three and twenty young women, most of them well habited, on their knees, very busy, as if they had been weeding. I could not presently learn what the matter was; at last, a young man told me that they were looking for a coal under the root of a plantain, to put under their heads that night, and they should dream who would be their husbands: it was to be found that day and hour. The women have several magical secrets handed down to them by tradition; for this purpose, as, on St. Agnes night, 21st January, take a row of pins, and pull out every one, one after another, saying a paternoster, or 'our father,' sticking a pin in your

your sleeve, and you will dream of him or her you shall marry." Ben Jonson, in one of his Masks, makes some mention of this:

"And on sweet St. Agnes night
Please you with the promis'd sight;
Some of husbands, some of lovers,
Which an empty dream discovers."

Another method used by love-sick girls was to sleep in a county not their usual residence, where they knit the left-legged garter round their right-legged stocking, leaving the other garter and stocking untouched in this way. They then repeated the following lines, knitting a knot at each comma:

"This knot I knit,
To know the thing I know not yet;
That I may see
The man that shall my husband be;
How he goes, and what he wears,
And what he does all the days."

The next dream *upon the subject* represented the gentleman to the lady's ardent gaze bearing a badge of his occupation. A lady acknowledged to Aubrey that she had practised the incantation, and was favoured with a vision. "About two or three years after, as she was one Sunday at church, up pops a young Oxonian in the pulpit. She cries out presently to her sister, 'This is the very face of the man that I saw in my dream'." He became her

her husband. "Sir William Soames lady did the like."

"Another way is, to charm the moon thus. At the first appearance of the new moon after New year's day, go out in the evening, and stand over the bars of a gate or stile, looking on the moon, and say:

'All hail to thee, Moon, all hail to thee!
I pray thee, good Moon, reveal to me
This night who my husband must be.'

You must presently after go to bed. I knew two gentlewomen that did thus when they were young maids, and they had dreams of those that married them."

"*Most houses* of the *west end* of London," says Aubrey, "have the horse shoe on the threshold." The horse shoe, it seems, lost its virtue if purchased or received as a gift; it should be *accidentally found* to prevent the operations of witches within the house under its protection.

CHAP. IV.

DRESS.

Whatever people first entered this country, and whatever may have been their ideas of Dress, the humid chills of England unquestionably compelled them to guard against its effects between the months of October and May. Their mode of life requiring great activity and freedom of limbs, it is natural to suppose, induced them to wear as little of any kind of covering as possible, and even to dispense with that little when exercise supplied its place. The skins of beasts were obvious means to concentrate the vital heat of their bodies; and, as many of the animals they possessed were large, ample clothing might be provided from that source alone. But, when we recollect the ingenuity and contrivance of the inhabitants of countries lately discovered in matting together the fibres of vegetable substances, and colouring them into very close resemblances of our printed cottons, there can be no reason to doubt, that our countrymen received conceptions of equal extent from the Creator, and that they executed them with equal ability.

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The general wish of mankind has been, in all ages, even previous to the maturity of reason, to cover the loins by folds of skins or cloth, and the shoulders, back, and breast, by a square mantle, fastened by a thorn, or some other method. Thus guarded on the body, their limbs had the most perfect freedom for action; and, when necessity required it, the mantle was dropped in an instant, or, when at rest, conveniently wrapped around them. Cæsar gives us reason to imagine, the mantles he observed in use were made by wearing or securing the extremities of hair in some sort of cloth, in the manner of the bed-rugs formerly used. These were clumsy and heavy enough, and only fit for winter; others for the milder season must have been contrived less oppressive; and this circumstance inevitably led to improvement. The very knowledge of securing hairs in the manner mentioned suggested other modes of arranging them; but those cannot now be explained, or perhaps accurately conjectured.

Accident may have produced the art of dyeing: many terrene and vegetable substances produce vivid colours without any preparation; the spotting or staining of clothing therefore soon became a favourite *fashion* with those rude sons of Nature. The capability of colours in creating a ferocious aspect was a strong inducement to apply them on the face and body, before the party using them met

met his adversaries in mortal combat: a word from the favourite female in approbation was enough to fix the custom in its military acceptation. Whether the hero ever attempted to *improve* his complexion in this way, or whether the female originally hit upon this happy expedient, I shall not pretend to determine.

It seems to be agreed by antient writers, that the natives of this island wore at one time a sort of pantaloons, or a close dress fitted to the limbs from the waist to the ankles; and a vest with sleeves, sandals, or pieces of skin, tied or laced to the foot, were equally necessary and common. This period, however, should be considered the second æra in dress, as it exhibits the improvement of the arts as well as the ideas. The dress of the women could not at first differ materially from that of the men, except in the quantity. When Boadicea led the Britons to the field, she is said by Dio to have worn a various-coloured tunic, flowing in loose long folds, and over it a mantle. The heads of the chiefs or kings were probably adorned with something resembling the Grecian helmet with feathers or hair inserted in it. If the mass of the people wore any thing more than a few feathers in a circlet of skin, the form and materials have not reached us.

Many ornaments of the persons of our ancestors are discovered in their sepulchres, particularly bracelets, anklets, and beads, with a few unknown

known as to their precise use: many are made of gold, and others of various materials. There is something so fascinating in the graceful disposition of the hair, that it is impossible to suppose the women of England neglected the bounty of nature in this respect; indeed we are informed, both sexes encouraged its growth, and were vain of its beauty; nor would it be altogether fanciful, to imagine the head of one of our fair countrywomen strongly resembling those of the best Grecian statues in the easy careless disposition of its ringlets. The author already mentioned as having described Boadicea notices her long hair floating in the wind over her back and shoulders. Cæsar adds, the men removed all their beards, except that on the upper lip.

Such are the imperfect particulars afforded us by the Romans of the habits of our ancestors: that people unquestionably gave us many of their customs, and Tacitus expressly asserts, the youth of the higher classes adopted their dress; a slight sketch of which, with what has already been said, will give a tolerable idea of the mixed fashions of Britain and Rome during the long period the latter maintained an influence over the former. At the same time, it should be recollected, there were thousands of the natives who spurned either imitation or the use of the Roman dress, through a laudable detestation of their invaders. Long before this æra, the country was supplied with many

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of the inventions of the Continent; for, though the Romans knew little of England, the traders of the Western ports contrived to barter all sorts of commodities with the inhabitants, or Cæsar would not have thought of consulting them on the state of England. Manufactures of silk and wool, both from their elegance and convenience, were unquestionably admired by the Britons, and through that very circumstance they doubtlessly adopted them, supposing they had not seen each before from their Gallic connections.

Numbers of the British now appeared in the toga, or gown without sleeves, commonly of the purest white, worn in a graceful manner, thrown around the shoulders, and partly descending behind to the ground, and which was occasionally used as a covering for the head; a border of purple was annexed as a mark of dignity. The tunica inclosed the body, and constituted the dress for wearing in the house, besides being that of the generality of the people without the toga. The sleeves of this habit descended only to the elbow originally, but afterwards to the wrist, when the length was increased to the ankles. The legs had no other covering than breadths of silk wound round them; and the feet were protected with sandals, laced round the ankles.

The toga was for a long time used in common by both sexes; but the ladies subsequently invented the stola and the palla: the former resembled

sembled the modern *chemise*, with sleeves down to the wrists, and reaching in length to the feet—those were white and edged with gold, and worn in the house—the latter formed a complete mantle for the inclosure of their persons when abroad; their limbs were besides wrapped with thin silk next the skin, and the same description of material with ribands decorated their hair.

It would give me great pleasure could I illustrate this part of my work with sketches of the native Britons in their common habits, and those of the field; but as that cannot be, I must proceed to the period when all the elegances and comforts of life were necessarily resigned, and desolation prevailed in every direction: the reader will anticipate my allusion to the Saxon æra. The persons actually employed in the subjugation of this country, and who afterwards, with their descendants, obtained the term of Anglo-Saxons, appear to have worn their hair and beards nearly, if not quite, as long as nature permitted, merely dividing that on the head from the crown to the forehead; and it is said they wore a sort of bonnet when not engaged in war. Tacitus describes the antient Germans to have been dressed in a close habit fitted to their shape, with fantastic patches of different-coloured skins set on them, and a large mantle fastened on one shoulder; which dress, with a clumsy security for the feet from the roughness of the earth, must be taken for that of the

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first invaders of our island from that quarter of the world.

The women of all nations feel a commendable pride in the beauty of their hair, nor were the Saxon females less so than their contemporaries; the utmost care was lavished on it in the earliest stage of their history, and the severest punishment they incurred was to be deprived of it. As to the precise manner of dividing, curling, and turning it over the head, we are in total ignorance. But it would be a poor compliment to their invention did we not grant them the inclination and ability to give it a number of pleasing forms. The natural modesty of the sex makes it probable that their garments were long and flowing, and the antient authorities declare them to have been so.

The materials of their clothing were originally coarse and badly manufactured; but their intercourse with other inhabitants of the Continent procured them a knowledge of all the luxuries of dress then common in Europe. Hence we may well imagine their ideas, and those of the natives of England, became alike susceptible of vain impressions; and that the finest linens, silks, and cloths, were substituted for more humble apparel.

One of the improvements discoverable in their fashions was the shaving away the enormous mass of hair which disfigured their faces, with the exception

exception of that on the upper lip. This peculiarity is mentioned by William of Malmesbury as having commenced in the reign of Harold. They long continued the use of the bonnet, and something strongly resembling a hat is exhibited in very antient designs. At what period the linen shirt was introduced does not appear; that it was at an early one is certain. The Romans considered this excellent invention as suited to females only; but as their empire declined, the people became less scrupulous as to their ideas of effeminacy. The tunic consisted of linen as well as of silk; nor did the Saxon military men disdain to wear the latter richly embroidered. At one time the tunic fitted close to the body, and reached half way down the legs, and they were worn both with and without sleeves. This vest they secured with a belt or girdle that served to support the sword. Antient drawings and descriptions furnish us with an idea of the remainder of their dress in the resemblances of modern *under-drawers*. The legs, from the knee downwards, were covered with a drapery not unlike bandages; and in some instances the first dawnings of stockings are to be traced. The sandal was probably the most common guard of the foot; but Dr. Henry quotes a passage from Eginhart which describes shoes with wooden soles fitted for each foot, the upper parts of leather and tied with thongs. These, and indeed all the preceding articles of dress, belonged

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to the rich and powerful; the poor, it is to be supposed, had little more than a coarse tunic, or perhaps a coarse mantle and drawers in addition, and went without either shoes or stockings: indeed, this is known to have been the case with many of the higher classes. A mantle perfectly square served all ranks for their principal covering, and was worn so as to fasten on the right shoulder and fall to the feet before and behind; this they varied in its colours and embroidery, and it was often very rich and magnificent.

When we fancy the general appearance of an Anglo-Saxon or Briton thus habited, we cannot but admit there was something extremely graceful and impressive in the aggregate; but the ornaments they added contributed to lessen the effect, and gave the figure a degree of effeminacy by no means according with the ferocious character of the former. Rings of gold on the fingers, bands or bracelets of the same metal on the arms, chains and collars of precious stones round the neck, too strongly remind us of the amiable softness of the sex from which they were borrowed, and make a strange association of ideas.

In describing the dress of the females, we have it not in our power to bestow on them any other decorations than we have already found the males in possession of. Their garments differed little from their lords', except in the modest extension of them over the breast and ankles; the mantle, indeed,

indeed, had sleeves, and consequently hung something in the manner of a loose robe, which was closed by a broach or button before. Veils were added to increase the chaste and virtuous appearance of these our early dames. Such was the dress of the Anglo-Saxons and the majority of the Britons when William of Normandy introduced the customs of his subjects.

The armed attendants of William are generally represented as having been tall, well made, and handsome. Like their countrymen, from that early age down to the late Revolution in France, they were fond of long hair; when they took possession of our island, they wore it curled on their necks, and flat on the forehead. About the year 1104, it became customary to cut the hair short; another whim restored it, and it was again shortened by 1129. The Normans wore neither beard nor whiskers when they first entered England; and William had such an aversion to the latter that he commanded his new subjects to part with this appendage of the upper lip. Their partiality for splendour of appearance was conspicuous in the extreme richness of the materials of which their dress was composed; their bonnets were of the finest cloth, or most beautiful furs, and ornamented with jewels. The colours were various; but yellow they appropriated as a mark of infamy to the Jews. Their shirts were of linen; their vests fitted close to the body, and those of the nobles

nobles reached to the ankles; an embroidered girdle, sometimes set with jewels, secured this garment round the waist, which had long sleeves. The mantle was frequently embroidered, and of fine cloth, lined or edged with fur.

The lower classes of the people wore a doublet, tied about the waist, which having sleeves to the wrist, was put on over the head; those reached only to the middle of the thighs.

The mantles of some of our early Norman kings were exceedingly magnificent, and are mentioned as having cost incredible sums, valued at our present depreciated state of money: one worn by Richard I. was striped and embossed with silver. The shoes of 1135 were made without heels, came up to the ankles, and had a slip on the instep, where they were tied. In this way they appeared greatly improved from those of the time of William Rufus, whose subjects chose to encumber themselves with taper-twisted points at the extremities.

With the exception of a more fanciful drapery on the head, the ladies of the Norman court, and others who imitated their fashions, did not make any material variation in their dress from that already described as distinguishing the gentlemen. Their vest was long, the sleeves large and raised in folds, when the arm was lifted, round which it was customary to throw part of the mantle in a graceful manner. Thus habited, and the folds of

the head-dress connected with the remainder of their drapery, they must have been very agreeable objects.

Antient illuminations leave us little reason to doubt that infants were clothed in the very worst possible way before 1163, and probably long before that period; they were wrapped in clothes from head to foot, with the face alone visible, and ribands or bandages crossed over the body, made it impossible the child should move a limb. Children under the apparent age of fifteen were as ridiculously exposed to the weather as the babe was kept from the salutary influence of the air: the garments of the latter resembled a modern *chemise*, and some of the parents wore similar *robes de chambre*. The coverings of their heads were not unlike the ladies plain caps of the present day.

The varieties and extravagances of dress have served as a topic for animadversion and censure to the clergy since it has been customary to address homilies and sermons to an assembly of the people; all the Christian fathers, and their more humble disciples, have left us their serious protest and denunciations against the vanity, folly, and *wickedness*, of decorating the person; and as there is not the least reason to suspect the preachers of 1216, and preceding and following years, of exaggeration, we must be contented to view that æra as remarkable for the display of cloth of gold,

robes

robes of silk, jewels, embroidery, and every description of voluptuous indulgence. That which we consider as a necessary consequence of social intercourse, the frequent change of dress, was thought extremely improper and extravagant in some of the rich; from which we may infer, that others of the same class appeared in soiled silks and embroidery: an object of no importance in the eyes of the censors, whose monkish religious habits might perhaps be very congenial in that respect.

The denunciations and admonitions of these good men might as well have been spared, as we find them employed in the same pursuit in 1348, thundering anathemas against fine linen, fine cloth, and jewellery. Dr. Henry tells us, Knighton thus described the ladies: "These tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most untainted reputation. These ladies are dressed in party-coloured tunics, one half being of one colour, and the other half of another; their lirripipes or tippets are very short; their caps remarkably little, and wrapped about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and silver; and they wear short swords, called *daggers*, before them, a little below their navels; they are mounted on the finest horses with the richest furniture. Thus equipped, they ride from place to place in quest of tournaments,

by which they dissipate their fortunes, and sometimes ruin their reputations."

It appears from an illumination on a grant made by the King about 1350 to Thomas de Brotherton, that the former wore a beard and whiskers; but the latter is represented with neither, and short hair, his body inclosed in armour, with a doublet sleeve to the wrist, and a surcoat of his arms, without a collar, but having a handsome trimming: his cap strongly resembles that lately used in France as the emblem of Liberty. The King's shoes are long and pointed, without heels, and have a square opening on the insteps. Thirteen years after, the justice and correctness of ecclesiastical censure was demonstrated in the sumptuary laws enacted by Parliament. Great indeed must have been the luxury of the times in dress, when the Legislature found it necessary to interpose between the people and their ideas of magnificence; even military men had proceeded to stud their armour with silver, and to have their arms, badges, and ornaments, enamelled; besides, they, in common with others of different professions, began to wear their shoes of great length, terminating in sharp points, which, in 1388, were extended to that ridiculous degree that they actually had recourse to the expedient of securing those points to the knee by chains of gold and silver or silken cords. Exasperated at the pitiful aberrations of fashion, Parliament prohibited

hibited the making of shoes with toes exceeding two inches in length beyond the necessary convenience for walking; nor were the close-fitted leggings, or pantaloons, as we now call them, less absurd, as they were of different colours.

Drawings made about 1370 present us with figures of men, whose caps are of the shape of the head, surrounded by a border, embroidered, embossed, or decorated with jewels, with short hair and long beards; and some have close gowns without collars, open before, very long, and the sleeves extending to the wrists. Seven years afterwards, we find that ladies had adopted a whimsical head-dress, sitting close to the head behind, with a border across the forehead, retiring on each side to the temples, then advancing over the cheeks in a semicircle, and again retiring, inclosing the ears to the back of the neck; the crown of this cap is crossed in lozenges with silk, gold, or silver cord, and has a drapery of silk or fine linen falling down the back.

The Poet Gower was represented nearly at the same date with a forked beard, a cap close to his head, covering the hair, and fastened under the chin; on which is elevated a high-crowned hat, narrower at the top than at the base, and surrounded by a brim not very wide turned up. He appears to have a vest with long sleeves, over which a gown lined or edged with fur, with a high collar, extends from thence to his feet; this is open

open before, secured round the waist by a girdle, and the sleeves terminate between the elbow and wrist. The sketch now described exhibits him shooting the shafts of ridicule, or, if you please, satire, at the world. Had those been directed solely to the dresses of the age, we might have doubted whether his effusions were not rather splenetic; for surely never did poet appear in a garb better suited to our ideas of a cynic of the deepest degree of ire.

No particular alteration is observable in the caps and beards of 1380. The gown, in some instances, was without a collar, and buttoned before from the neck to the feet: openings apparently extremely inconvenient were made on the sides from the bottom as high as the middle of the thigh, and the sleeves were very wide and large, the girdle was embossed, the vest or doublet with small long sleeves appears under the above garment. Some persons wore a large loose surcoat without a collar, pressed close round the body by a girdle, the skirts or bottom of which turned inward, and was secured about the waist; the sleeves of this coat were as large as those of a modern morning gown. The shoes, as has been mentioned before, were connected to the knee by chains; but it is not possible, from the drawings examined to compose this illustration of our antient dresses, to ascertain how the shoes were made to form part of the pantaloon, as I am compelled

compelled to call the covering of the legs, for want of the original term. Another dress of this date consisted of a close doublet buttoned, and had sleeves which enlarged towards the hand, and were cut so as to fall in a point under it: this was secured by an embossed girdle that occasionally supported a dagger.

I can say nothing in commendation of the gentlemen's caps subsequently introduced; those rose in a cone on the head, part of the material fell behind, and the front formed the segment of a small circle on the forehead, the edges retiring towards the temples; this, when the party wore chain armour, or a drapery, from the breast and shoulders to the neck, had a most unpleasant effect, and must have been completely ridiculous when the latter was embroidered with grotesque figures of men and animals, as the fashion prescribed. The contemptible appearance of the males thus habited was in a slight degree countenanced by the stiffness, formality, and inelegance, of the female *caput*, which had a cap fitted to the crown in 1386, with a broad border across the forehead, arched and escalloped above, whence lappets fell quite to the waist. The bosom of the gown lay in a semicircle from the shoulders over the breast, a riband or band of silk formed a triangle from the front to the waist, and a short vest, with tight long sleeves, was added to a loose under-garment, the shoes sharp-toed. Ladies are shewn besides

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in illuminated MSS, with veils laid flat on the head and descending to the shoulders, with collars to their gowns, and a band from them to the waist; in close sleeves, with two bands crossing the arm between the elbow and wrist, and five others uniting them perpendicularly. For the first time in the course of my research, I find the sleeve set with buttons from the wrist to the elbow *outside* of the arm. It should be observed, that from the moment girdles were used down to this period, the waists were uniformly short.

Many of the citizens of London appeared with short curled hair, divided on the fore part of the head, and smooth to the sides, about 1399. The caps of the same date were of two descriptions; one tying under the chin, and the other having a little peak before and turned up at the sides, the top falling over; pantaloons were still worn, and in one instance I have observed the stockings over the knee, as was fashionable in the time of George I. Doublets, with sleeves and apertures for the passage of the arm, inclosed by another inner garment, were also common; as were short coats, with enormous sleeves, collars, cuffs, and flaps to the skirts; large long swords were an appendage to these dresses. In the following year, caps with triangular crowns, and others, large, high, and round, were introduced; when, it is said, the lower classes wore cloth stockings, breeches, and a doublet buttoned before.

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An illumination, representing a transaction of 1408, exhibits one person in a *ruff;* the hair was still short and curled, and aged people generally had beards and whiskers; round crowned hats, with large brims turned up, supplanted the caps already described, and striped doublets were worn; different coloured mantles or coats, distinguished by the copious breadth of sleeves. The gentlemen also appeared in close gowns, with arm holes opposite the elbows; through these the arm shewed a tight sleeve; a girdle kept the habit firm to the body, and supported the sword. Not long after the above date, we find the ladies heads decorated with something strongly resembling the pediment of a portico, the materials of which were probably fine linen or silk bound together by bands of riband, or perhaps gold or silver cord; from the lower extremities of those, drapery edged with embroidery descended to the shoulders; the hair left on the temple was combed strait; this seems to have succeeded a crescent-shaped head dress, with similar lappets. I need not mention the disagreeable effect produced by the above fancy, which was a direct contrast to the elegance of the remainder of the drapery, composed of vestments reaching from the neck to the feet, with close sleeves, large cuffs, and tied by bows of riband down the front; the girdle, in the instance now described, rested on one hip, and fell loose down the opposite side, secured to complete

complete the circle by an ornament of gold or a jewel, whence a chain depended of some length.

A mantle, without a collar, lay flat on the shoulders, and fell to the ankles behind, and even on the ground. The ornaments accompanying this graceful dress were well imagined, and consisted of necklaces of four rows, and a cross on the breast; a band from two jewels or golden broaches connected and secured the mantle over the bosom: two other bands attached to the vest met on the waist, and descending terminated in tassels. Although I have condemned the head-dress just mentioned, it will appear from one used in 1454 that, however fashion or whim might supersede taste, they did not totally extinguish it. In that year, an accurate drawing shews us a lady with a broad embroidered bandeau across her forehead, which, with an elegantly disposed veil, entirely conceals her hair; a string of pearls fall in a festoon on the right cheek, and give a very pleasing air to the countenance. The same figure has a round loose long vest plaited in front, with a rich embroidered collar, and close sleeves to the wrists, set thick with buttons on the outside of the arms. Large purses were then carried by the ladies, ornamented with tassels.

The gentlemen had surpassed the softer sex in the oddities of their habits in 1463, and excited the animadversion of Parliament by the extreme shortness of their coats, which actually exposed

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the seat of honour to the vulgar gaze of those who knew not the meaning of the term; their caps or bonnets were also of fine cloth, silk or velvet, and resplendent with jewellery; nor were their garments less extravagant, as the reader will recollect on my repeating the well-known fact of Henry V. appearing, when a young man, in a mantle of blue satin, pierced into holes with silk and points depending from them. They wore their hair both long and short, as the caprice of the party suggested; their doublets were large and loose, and trimmed with fur, and secured by girdles, the sleeves preposterous, and they had no collars.

Another strange dress for the heads of the ladies was made in the exact shape of a heart, and those of enormous size; had a semicircular opening, as if *cut out* of the lower part which admitted the head; a border surrounded the face, and passed the ears: what materials these were composed of I cannot pretend to say; but the illuminations of the time exhibit them in different vivid colours: consequently, the hair did not always form part of this ridiculous protuberance.

About 1470, the hair of the men was short and curled; their caps fitted the shape of the head, the narrow brims were turned up all round, and a feather placed behind fell over the crown; the vest had sleeves, the doublet was cut to permit the arm to pass through, it was plaited before, and had short skirts, and the edges were ornamented

mented with fur, with lining of that description; the close connected stockings and breeches or pantaloons maintained their ground quite to the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and, indeed, from this time till that of Charles I. very little variety is observable. Henry VII. wore two *shirts* at his coronation 1485; or, to speak more correctly, a shirt of fine lawn, and a vest of crimson silk, with a large opening in the front; the stockings, by which we are to understand the whole covering of the legs and thighs, were of crimson sarsnet, and laced to his coat with ribands, the latter was furred with pure mynnvere, and decorated with fanciful bows, &c. of ribands, of gold: the latter was lined with ermine. The mantle was of crimson satin, laced with silk, and adorned with tassels; and to this splendid apparel was added a large crimson satin rose.

When the successor of Henry VII. proceeded from the Tower to Westminster, on the day of his coronation June 1509, the gentlemen who carried his cloak and hat are said to have had their dresses covered with goldsmith's work and embroidery. Sir Thomas Brandon, master of the horse, was habited in tissue, embroidered with golden roses; as for Henry, his coat was actually embossed with gold, and the placardo literally covered with every description of precious stones; the bawdrick on his neck with balesses; the mantle was of crimson velvet, and furred with ermine. The Queen wore

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a long garment of white embroidered satin, and her hair flowed down her back. An excellent idea may be formed of the dress of the court of Henry VIII. from the family picture painted by Holbein, and presented by his present Majesty to the Society of Antiquaries.

There seems to have been a strong sense of the necessity for propriety in dress during this reign. Authors of that and later periods wrote severally against the practice of confounding the degrees of society by the prevalence of *general* fashions: in some instances, the dress announced the office of the wearer; and the idea was, that it should be thus in every case. As an argument much to the purpose, Sir Thomas Elyot enquires "what enormity should it now be thought, and a thing to laugh at, to see a judge or serjeant at the law in a short coat, garded and pounced after the Galliard fashion, or an apprentice of the law or pleader come to the bar with a Millayne (Milan) or French bonnet on his head set full of aiglettes."

Chamberlayne says in his Angliæ Notitiæ, that one of the national vices was pride in apparel, in which our ancestors were "extravagantly foolish, superfluous, and obscene;" hence the numerous statutes made to restrain this passion before the Reformation. "An Englishman was wont to be pictured naked, with a pair of taylor's sheers in his hand, a piece of cloth under his arm, and

verses

verses annexed, intimating, that he knew not what fashion of clothes to have."

"Pride of hair," says Dr. Bolton, "was punished at first with an ugly entanglement, sometime in the form of a great snake, sometime of many little ones, full of nastiness, vermin, and noisome smell; and that which is most to be admired, and age never saw before, pricked with a needle, they yielded bloody drops. This first began in Poland, aftr wards entered into Germany; and all that then cut off this horrible naky hair, either lost their eyes, or the humour falling down upon other parts, tortured them extremely." "Methinks," saith our author, "our monstrous fashionists, males and females—the one for nourishing their horrid bushes of vanity, the other for cutting their hair, should fear and tremble."

Soon after Henry VIII. came to the throne, the doublet was worn with many slashes and cuts, and the waistband, coming but little below the armpits, was guarded by eight long skirts; the breeches were made, as usual before, in the manner of pantaloons, and clasped to the doublet; the ample fronts of those supplied the place of pockets, and had two wings, which were secured on each hip by points: between this front and the shirt, linen bags were suspended; and in those every article was conveyed, except the gloves which were hung to the girdle; that also supported

a pouch

a pouch for money, secured by a ring, and even a lock of iron: a cloak completed the dress.

The print of Latimer preaching at Westminster before Edward VI. and his courtiers gives an ample illustration of the various habits worn in his time, that of Queen Mary, and indeed of Elizabeth, as very trifling alterations occurred in the fashions during the years that Monarch and the Queens his sisters sat on the throne of England.

Some idea of the dresses of the publick at large may be collected in the ensuing extract from Latimer's last sermon preached before Edward VI. in the year 1550. Speaking of the ladies, he says, "They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it. And when they make them ready, and come to the covering of their head, they will call and say, 'Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet, or my cap,' and so forth." The terms *French hood* and *bonnet* were displeasing to the worthy Latimer; and he declared his wish, that the females would name the coverings of their heads from the Scripture. "But, now, here is a vengeance devil: we must have our *power* (the name he selected in place of bonnet) from Turkey of velvet. Far fette, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign. I had rather have a true English sign than a sign from Turkey. It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the power as they ought to do, there

there should not any such tussocks nor tufts be seen as there be, nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open." The fashions were, it seems, displeasing to some husbands and fathers, who prevailed upon the prelate to censure their wives and daughters, and endeavour to make them less attentive to the exhibition of their persons in extravagant modes of dress. "I could do little in that matter," added the Bishop.

Fox gives us a curious account of the dress of Bishop Latimer when h attended the commissioners appointed by Queen Mary at his last examination. His appearance on this most serious occasion has been justly attributed to humility; but that virtue might surely have associated with neatness, and could not certainly drive any additional merit from old garments. "He bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a handkerchief on his head, and upon it a nightcap or two, and a great cap (such as the townsmen use), with broad flaps to button under the chin, wearing an old Bristol frize threadbare gown, girded about his body with a penny leather girdle; at which hanged, by a long string or leather, his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast."

When Mary Queen of Scotland was led to the scaffold, she was habited thus: Her head dress was of lawn, edged with bone lace; a veil of the same

same material, and edged in the same manner, flowed from the caul, bowed out with wire; her gown was of printed black satin, with a train and long sleeves, and had acorn-shaped jet buttons, with a trimming of pearls; part of the sleeves were open, and beneath appeared others of purple velvet; her kirtle whole, of figured black satin; her petticoat and upper bodice of crimson satin, unlaced in the back, and the skirts of crimson velvet; her shoes Spanish leather, the inside outward; a pair of green silk garters; watchet silk stockings, clocked and edged on the top with silver, and under them a pair of white Jersey hose. She wore a chain of pomander, and an *Agnus Dei* round her neck, and beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the extremity of them.

The author of 'Navis Stultifera' affords a sketch of fashion in the following lines:

"Come near, disguised fools, receive your fool's hood,
And ye that in sundry colours are array'd;
Ye garded gallants, wasting thus your good,
Come near, with your skirts bordered and display'd,
In form of surplice: forsooth it may be said,
That of your sort right few shall thrive this year;
Or that your fathers wear such habit in the choir.

And ye, gentlewomen, whom this lewd vice doth
blind,
Laced on the back, your peaks set aloft,
Come to my ship, forget ye not behind
Your saddle on the tail, if you list to sit soft,
Do on your deck slut, if you purpose to come oft,
I mean your copin-tanke, and if it will do no good,
To keep you from the rain, ye shall have a fool's
hood."

Elizabeth, than whom none of her subjects could be more vain and fantastic in her garments and ornaments, as will be perceived from the following sketch of her dress, felt the necessity of preventing them from injuring their families by the richness and expence of their apparel: to accomplish which, she issued repeated sumptuary proclamations; and even commanded, that persons should be stationed at the most frequented places in London to examine the dresses of the passengers and to ascertain whether the limits she prescribed were exceeded. This Queen, then, is represented in a head dress set with jewels, very nearly resembling that called a cushion, worn a few years past; a ruff richly laced, and laid in plaits, diverging as if from a centre back of her neck, extends on each side of her face, of considerable breadth, and the extremities lay on her breasts; from those, two wings, probably of lawn, edged with a border of jewels, and stiffened with wire, rise in two semicircular sweeps as high as

the

the top of the cushion, and, turning down to the ears, form the general shape of a heart, with the face and ruff set in the midst; a short, clumsy, and ill-contrived cloak, covered with embroidery and jewels, hides all the body of her gown, but shews small cuffs, ruffs on her wrists, and a very pretty ornament of lace above the former; the strait and formal stomacher leaves great part of her bosom exposed, and in recompence for want of length in that direction makes an enormous long waist on the opposite; it is covered with jewels and embossed gold, and she wears a beautiful necklace, but an extremely uncouth velvet lower garment, not to be called in this instance a *petti*-coat.

The Ironmongers Company contributed forty-six persons towards forming the Lord Mayor's procession in 1566, who were habited in satin cassocks and gowns, richly furred, and wore crimson satin hoods. At nearly the same æra, Mrs. Dane, a very charitable lady, is represented in a painting, with a close black cap, ruff, and robe of crimson.

Masks and visors made of velvet, with glasses for the eyes, were used at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and held on the face by a bead attached to the inner part, and put into the mouth of the wearer; and the gentlemen cross-gartered to the knees.

James I., contrary to the custom of many

monarchs, never gave his subjects one fashion in dress; he wore his clothes larger than usual for ease, and his doublets were quilted so as to resist the point of a dagger; his breeches were plaited, and stuffed to the fullest extent; he was once greatly offended by a hat having been brought to him made in the Spanish taste, which he threw away, exclaiming, he liked neither them nor their fashions; and at another time, he enquired of his attendants whether they wished to exhibit him as a ruff-footed dove, because his shoes were decorated with silk roses: "one six-penny riband served that turn," says an author of his character.

When the Princess Elizabeth his daughter went to the altar with the Electoral Prince Palatine in the year 1612, she was habited in white vestments: her hair descended at full length down her back, and she wore a diadem of pure gold, set with rich jewels. The author from whom this information was derived declares that he saw one of the suits intended for the Lords sent as ambassadors to the court of France to obtain the Duchess for Prince Charles; the cloak and hose of which "were made of fine white beaver, richly embroidered with silver and gold, particularly the cloak within and without, nearly to the cape; the doublet was cloth of gold, embroidered so thick that it could not be discerned; and a white beaver hat suitable, full of embroidery both above and below."

Bishop

Bishop Hall said much against the luxurious dresses then in fashion in a sermon preached during this reign. He called upon his hearers to "imagine one of our forefathers were alive again, and should see one of those his gay daughters walk in Cheapside before him, what do you think he would think it were? Here is nothing to be seen but a verdingale, a yellow ruff, and a perriwig, with perhaps some feathers waving in the top; three things for which he could not tell how to find a name. Sure he could not but stand amazed to think what new creature the times had yielded since he lived; and then if he should run before her, to see if by the foresight he might guess what it were, when his eyes should meet with a powdered frizzle, a painted hide, shadowed with a fan not more painted, breasts displayed, and a loose lock swing wantonly over her shoulders betwixt a painted cloth and skin, how would he more bless himself to think what mixture in nature could be guilty of such a monster."

The loose lock noticed by the preacher was the *love*-lock. Prynne mentions a nobleman who was dangerously ill, and terrified at the immediate prospect of death, as declaring publickly after his recovery his detestation of his "effeminate fantastic love-lock, which he then sensibly perceived to be but a cord of vanity, by which he had given the devil hold fast to lead him captive at his pleasure, and who would never resign his prey as long

long as he nourished this unlovely bush." He therefore commanded his barber to cut it off.

A moral and pleasing work, published anonymously in 1620, entituled, "*Horæ Subsecivæ*, observations and discourses," casually notices the following peculiarities in fashion: "I esteem it a great vexation," says the author, "to see one affect a gravity in behaviour, as he will look upon you with the stayedness of a statue, and observe a set distance between every word, like the images that strike the clock at every quarter; and some again, with more gesticulation than an ape, to seem to dance about you; some will carry their heads as if they used a bridle, and some so loosely as if they needed one; some would rather be lame of a hand than not seem so, that they may wear a scarf; or of a leg than lose the grace of carrying a French stick."

"Tell," says Ward of Ipswich, in his Balm from Gilead to recover Conscience, 1627, "to the fashion-mongers, both the statelier sort, and the light-headed *yellow-banded* fools; tell the one, that the richest lining and inside is a good conscience; and for the other, if thou wilt vouchsafe, tell them that plain apparel and a good conscience will do them more honour than all these ape's toys."

John Bulwer Chirosopher, author of "Anthropometamorphosis, or Man transformed," which was published in 1650, gives us many particulars on dress from 1630 to that period, and mentions

jessamine

jessamine butter as a favourite ointment for the hair. After describing the strange ideas of some remote nations on this subject, he exclaims, "Here's glorious cosmetics for our tender gallants, which would prove as pleasing to their posterical mistresses as the sweet atoms which make such a cirque of olympic dust upon their hoary shoulders; and to make a little bold with the handsome expression of a gentleman, who, as I understand, could have been content my book, by coming a little sooner to his hands, had afforded him the same opportunity. Our gallants' witty noddles are put into such a pure witty trim, the dislocations of every hair so exactly set, the whole bush so curiously candied, and (what is most prodigious) the natural jet of some of them so exalted into a perfect *azure*, that their familiar friends have much to do to own their faces; for by their powdered heads you would take them to be mealmen." This quotation is sufficient proof of the then attachment to hair powder; which Dr. B. endeavoured to counteract by many just observations conveyed in a quaintness of expression that must raise a smile of acquiescence. Speaking of the pores, and their obstructed evaporations, he adds, "Those sewers being blocked and choaked up with that hot artificial dust, conglomerated into dirt by the furious acting of their fiery brains, may in time dissolve in distillations, and (if not obfuscate their inventions, when they have a disposition

position to court their mistresses with some rare piece of poesy) find a passage to their lungs, and cacexicate their pretty corpusculums, if not in time make way for a consumption." Curling the hair with hot irons, and "frizzling" of it afterwards; an "artificial affectation, in imitation of a natural bush of hair," we derived from the Romans; and it was customary with the English, during part of the Interregnum, for males and females to wear the hair almost as low as the eyebrows.

The allurements of the youthful female are as severely handled by Burton as the deceptions of those they attract: "Why," he enquires, "do they decorate themselves with artificial flowers, the various colours of herbs, needle works of exquisite skill, quaint devices, and perfume their persons, wear inestimable riches in precious stones, crown themselves with gold and silver, use coronets and tires of several fashions; deck themselves with pendants, bracelets, ear-rings, chains, girdles, rings, pins, spangles, embroideries, shadows, rebatoes, versicolor ribands? Why do they make such glorious shews with their scarfs, feathers, fans, masks, furs, laces, tiffanies, ruffs, falls, calls, cuffs, damasks, velvets, tinsels, cloth of gold, silver tissue? Such setting up with corks, straitening with whalebones; why, it is but as a daynet catcheth larks, to make young ones stoop unto them. And when they are disappointed, they dissolve

dissolve into tears, which they wipe away like sweat: weep with one eye, laugh with the other; or as children, weep and cry they can both together: and as much pity is to be taken of a woman weeping as of a goose going barefoot."

The sugar-loaf hats, which had a very narrow brim, and rose into a cone, were most absurd and useless. An author who ridiculed them at the time they were in fashion declared, that every puff of wind deprived the owners of their services, or compelled them to hold them on. The ruffs fell under the severe censure of Bulwer, who observed, "It is hard to derive the abominable pedigree of cobweb lawn, yellow starched ruffs, which so much disfigured our nation, and render them so ridiculous and fantastical; but it is well known that fashion died at the gallows with her who was the supposed inventrix of it." The person thus alluded to was Mrs. Turner, the widow of a physician, hanged for assisting in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. The yellow starch used for these ruffs was introduced by this infamous woman from France. The circumstance of her making her exit in one of them soon terminated the fashion which had prevailed in the time of James I.

"When," adds the 'Artificial Changeling,' "we wore short-waisted doublets, and but a little lower than our breasts, we would maintain by militant reasons, that the waist was in its right place as Nature intended it; but when after, as lately, we

came

came to wear them so long waisted, yea, almost as low as our hips, then began we to condemn the former fashion as fond, intolerable, and deformed, and to commend the latter as comely, handsome, and commendable. A kind of madness or self-fond humour that giddieth (as one sayeth) our understandings so new-fangled and sudden, that all the taylors in the world cannot invent novelties sufficient; one self-same judgement, in the space of fifteen or twenty years, admitting not only two or three different, but also clean contrary opinions, with so light and incredible constancy, that any man would wonder at it. The waist (as one notes) is now come to the knee; for the points that were used to be about the middle are now dangling there, and now more lately (1650) the waist is descended down towards the ankles."

The same writer says he remembered when "bombasted paned hose" were worn; but at the period he wrote, the hose were made so close to the breeches that "they too manifestly discover the dimensions of every part." "At the time," he continues, "when the fashion came up of wearing trunk hose, some young men used so to stuff them with rags and other like things, that you might find some that used such inventions to extend them in compass with as great eagerness as the women did take pleasure to wear great and stately verdingales; for this was the same affectation, being a kind of verdingale breeches."

Two

Two ridiculous stories are told of this fashion — one that a youth so dressed and distended with bran, in conversation with ladies, tore his *sack* with a nail, and the bran escaped; the other took place "when the law was in force against wearing *bays stuffed in their breeches*," and described a person before a court of justice who, being charged by the judges with being habited contrary to the statute, convinced them that his stuffing did not consist of the prohibited article; but a pair of sheets, two table cloths, ten napkins, four shirts, a brush, a glass, a comb, night caps, &c. &c. These inventions serve to prove how very absurd this kind of dress must have been, and that the breeches were really filled at the pleasure of the wearer.

"Our late great verdingales seem to have proceeded from the same foolish affectation which the Chiribichensian virgins and women of Cathai have at this day, "whose ambition was to possess thick legs near their hips;" "and that this hip-gallantry ordinarily moves such apprehensions in others," Dr. Bulwer illustrates by mentioning, that when Sir Peter Wyche was ambassador from James I. to the Grand Seignior at Constantinople, the Sultaness expressed a wish to see his lady, who went in great state, buried in the verdingale, to wait upon her. "The Sultaness entertained her respectfully; but withal wondering at her great and spacious hips, she asked her, whether

all

all English women were so made and shaped about those parts; to which my lady Wych answered, that they were made as other women were, withal shewing the fallacy of her apparel in the device of the verdingale; until which demonstration was made, the Sultaness verily believed it had been her natural and real shape."

"A fashion which we of late have generally taken up, to wear our forked shoes almost as long again as our feet, not a little to the hindrance of the action of the foot; and not only so, but they prove an impediment to reverential devotions: for, as one notes, 'our boots and shoes are so long snouted, that we can hardly kneel in God's house'."

The breasts were much exposed by the fashionables, and their shoulders were equally bare. Much was urged against this custom, both for its indecency, and the danger it caused to the health. Bulwer, indeed, asserts, that he knew a lady who lost the use of her hands and arms "through a refrigeration of the original of the nerves, which from the neck send those nerves to the hands, which enable them with motion, to which mischief some mercurial dealbation (which this fashion usually requires) might perhaps contribute." The exposure of this part of the person formed a complete contrast to the fashion of the age immediately preceding, when every avenue to the neck was doubly secured.

In

In the reign of Queen Mary, square toes were worn to a most extravagant breadth, which produced a proclamation limiting them to six inches. An author who wrote in the Interregnum reminds his reader of an opposite excess, "when sharp piquant toes were in request." After making a ridiculous comparison between the expanded toes of the shoe, and the spreading of the foot of a bear, Dr. Bulwer proceeds, "Like the overpaired, uneasy, and gig-like heels of our ill set-up gallants, which puts them into so tottering a condition, that, when they have spun a while in the streets, usually come hobbling down, and in this fashion are emblematically presented to be unstable in all their ways." "What a prodigious affectation is that of Choppanes, wherein our ladies imitate the Venetian and Persian ladies!"

Mr. Douce notices Bulwer's exclamation on this subject, in his "Illustrations of Shakspeare," and has given a print of a real Venetian Choppine, which, I am inclined to think, was not exactly copied in those used by our fashionable dames, or Bulwer would have said rather more in condemnation of these abominable and ridiculous stilts.

The portrait prefixed to Dr. Bulwer's work, engraved by Faithorne, represents him with whiskers and a pointed beard; and, although he says much against artificial means employed to improve the exterior of the person, he seems to have had some little attention shown to each of

those

those appendages of the face; neither doth his hair, swelled into large protuberances over the ears, appear to have escaped the curling iron and "frizzling." Thus surrounded with hair, it is not surprising that we find him loud in his praises of beards and whiskers, and remarking, "that shaving the chin is justly to be accounted a note of effeminacy, and exclaiming, what greater evidence can be given of effeminacy than to be transformed into the appearance of a woman, and to be seen with a smooth skin like a woman?—a shameful metamorphosis!" "With a razor then to go so deep as to leave no impression of hair upon the skin, as if we would with the same iron invade the roots, but that we fear wounds and deforming scars of the skin, is to turn rebel." "So we against the edicts of God, the oracles of the Prophets, the placits of councils, and the judgment of learned men, hold fast the foolish custom of shaving, and will sooner forbid ourselves fire and water than execute commands contrary to our custom; like wicked outlaws despising the fulminations of divine anger."

Having thus established the claims of the hairs of the face to their stations, he very properly wished, that Nature should be permitted to operate her own changes in their colours; but here again restless and dissatisfied man—a rebellious grey or white hair is offensive, and points out the approaches of age and decrepitude. Art is summoned

moned to her assistance, and the aggrieved dyed their beards, deceiving themselves "and every body else (if they could), contrary to all truth and reason; as if any man were so ignorant, and did not know, that there are none of these changeable-coloured beards, but at every motion of the sun, and every cast of the eye, they present a different colour, and never a one perfect; much like unto those in the necks of your doves and pigeons: for, in every hair of those old coxcombs, you shall meet with three divers and sundry colours—white at the roots, yellow in the middle, and black at the point, like unto one of your parrot's feathers." It may be observed in this place, that every effort to save the beard and whiskers from the razor failed, and a very short period presented every class of Englishmen in Dr. Bulwer's state of effeminacy, whence they have not yet emerged.

We are next introduced to the toilets of the ladies, where our good Chirosopher finds much to censure; but let him speak for himself, "Our English ladies, who seem to have borrowed some of their cosmetical conceits from barbarous nations, are seldom known to be contented with a face of God's making; for they are either adding, detracting, or altering continually, having many fucusses in readiness for the same purpose. Sometimes they think they have too much colour, then they use art to make them look pale and fair; now they have too little colour, then Spanish paper, red

red leather, or other cosmetical rubricks, must be had. Yet, for all this, it may be, the skins of their faces do not please them, off they go with mercury water, and so they remain, like peeled ewes, until their faces have recovered a new epidermis. Our ladies have lately entertained a vain custom of spotting their faces, out of an affectation of a mole to set off their beauty, such as Venus had, and it is well if one black patch will serve to make their faces remarkable; for some fill their visages full of them, varied into all manner of shapes and figures." This assertion is illustrated by the writer, in an engraving where two crescents adorn the cheeks, a star the lower part of the face, a lozenge the chin, and a coach and four the forehead of a lady.

Ladies, we well know, have always enjoyed the privilege of endeavouring to adorn their persons in any manner whim or chance may direct; therefore the strictures of the Doctor, though they inform us of many forgotten fancies, may be considered as rather severe than necessary; but the information contained in the following paragraphs leads us to reflect with pleasure, that, though painting and patching the faces of ladies is not quite discontinued, we have no *male imitators* in our time. The author observes, that many sensible women rejected the custom, and had an opportunity of thus separating themselves from females who thought *amendment* necessary.

"And

"And the like sober use may the discreeter sort of ladies, who are not guilty of this spotting vanity, make use of, when they behold the like prodigious affectation in the faces of effeminate gallants. A bare-headed sect of amorous idolaters, who of late have begun to vye patches and beauty spots, nay painting, with the most tender and fantastical ladies, and to return by art their queasy pain upon women, to the great reproach of nature, and high dishonour and abasement of the glory of man's perfection. Painting is bad both in a foul and fair woman, but worst of all in a man; for, if it be the received opinion of some physicians, that the using of complexion, and such like slibber slabbers, is a weakness and infirmity in itself, who can say whether such men as use them be sound or no? It being a great dishonesty, and unseemly sight, to see a man painted, who perchance had a reasonable good natural complexion of his own, that, when he hath by nature those colours proper to him, he should besoot his face with the same paintings, or make such slight reckoning of those fair pledges of Nature's goodness, and embrace such counterfeit stuff, to the ill example of others; so that his face, which, he thinks, doth so commend him, should be made of ointments, greasy ingredients, and slabber sauces, or done by certain powders, ox-galls, lees, latherings, and other such sluttish and beastly confections." "But as for paintings, it is no

marvel if the ladies of our time do paint themselves; for of a long time, and in many places, that trade hath had beginning. This generation of daubers having ever sought quarrels with Nature, and forced Art, her false servant, into balance with her, setting more by their false face than they do by their true; so that these face-makers seem to be out of love with themselves, and to hate their natural face."

Infatuated by the idea of being considered slender and genteel, the young ladies of 1650 used every means to compress their chests and persons. To accomplish this pernicious purpose, high-bodied stays, extending from the hips above the breasts, were worn and laced almost to bursting; "by which deadly artifice," says Bulwer, "they reduce their breasts into such straights, that they soon purchase a stinking breath; and, while they ignorantly affect an august or narrow breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their waists in a whale-bone prison, they open a door to consumption and a withering rottenness."

Mr. Reeve attacked the publick about 1657 for their extravagance in dress, in his "Plea for Nineveh." The substance of his arguments are directed to the feelings of the people, and are calculated to excite repentance and a change in their habits: an extract would therefore appear connected with matter foreign to the nature of this work, were it given

given entirely in his own words; but the substance, illustrated by quotations, will not be liable to the same objection. He asks, Why, if the King of Nineveh lays aside his robe, they put it on? and why they cover themselves with silks, sattins, and cloth of silver and gold, when he wears sackcloth? "O spruce penitents!" he exclaims, "what true penitent was ever too busy with the mercer's shop, or minded too much the feather-maker and perfumer? Powders, spangles, cuts, jags, frizzles, crispings, purple and crimson, are fitter for swartrutters and ruffians than for true penitents." Proceeding, he enquires, "Are these splendid blades and nitid sparks fit to defend a nation? Yes, with their corslets, but not their consciences; their rapiers, but not their repentance." "Oh! our patched faces," he adds, "are enough to make us monsters in God's eyes, our long tails to sweep all blessings out of the nation, our powdered hair to fetch God's razor to shave these besmeared locks; and if a man should search the wardrobes, cabinets, complexion bottles, a man would wonder that the flying book of curses had not already lighted upon this exotic island!"

"Oh the monstrous pride and prodigious bravery of these days! Pliny doth report that the first dyeing of flax began in Alexandria. Sabellicus writeth, that the Ælians first wrought cloth of gold, and that the Babylonians first invented em-

broideries; but whosoever were the first inventors of these things, their inventions have proved so fruitful that nothing will please us but costly dyes, curious textures, and all the artificial drafts of the needle: our garments, so costly that purple, which was wont to be bought at the equal weight of silver, and very seldom came upon the backs of any but princes, is now of little esteem amongst us. Lewis, Emperor of Germany, by solemn proclamation, forbade all foreign apparel; but he had been no Emperor for us, for there is nothing will please these times but that which is outlandish.

"We are so much addicted to strange apparel, that there is scarce any thing that is English seen about us: as it was said of the courtiers of Androracus the younger, that in respect of their hateful disguises in apparel, they seemed no longer to be Grecians, but a medley of Latins, Mysians, Toriballians, Syrians, and Phœnicians; so we have brought all nations into the wardrobe, or to act upon the garment stage. The Kings of Egypt were wont to give unto their Queens the tribute of the city Antilla to buy them girdles; and how much girdles, gorgets, wimples, cauls, crisping pins, veils, rails, frontlets, bonnets, bracelets, necklaces, slops, slippers, round-tires, sweet-balls, rings, ear-rings, mufflers (a cloth tied from the neck across the chin and mouth), glasses, hoods, lawn, musks, civets, rose-powders, gessamy-butter,

ter, complexion-waters, do cost in our days, many a sighing husband doth know by the year's account.

"What ado is there to spruce up many a woman either for streets or market, bankets or temples! She is not fit to be seen unless she doth appear half naked, unless she hath her distinguishing patches upon her; she goeth not abroad till she be feathered like a popinjay, and doth shine like alabaster; it is an hard thing to draw her out of bed, and an harder thing to draw her from the looking-glass; it is the great work of the family to dress her, much chafing and fuming there is before she can be thoroughly tired; her spungings and perfumings, lacings and lickings, clippings and strippings, dentifricings and dawbings, the setting of every hair methodically, and the placing every beauty-spot topically, are so tedious, that it is a wonder that the mistress can sit, or the waiting-maid stand, till all the scenes of this fantastic comedy be acted through. Oh, these birds of Paradise are bought at a dear rate! the keeping of these lannerets is very chargeable!

"The wife oftentimes doth wear more gold upon her back than the husband hath in his purse, and hath more jewels about her neck than the annual revenue doth amount to; and this is the she-pride. And doth not the he-pride equal it? Yes, the man now is become as feminine as the woman. Men must have their half shirts and

half

half arms, a dozen casements above, and two wide luke-homes below; some walk as it were in their waistcoats, and others a man would think in their petticoats; they must have narrow waists and narrow bands, large cuffs upon their wrists, and larger upon their shin-bones; their boots must be crimped, and their knees guarded; a man would conceive them to be apes by their coats, soap-men by their faces, meal-men by their shoulders, bears or dogs by their frizzled hair;—and this is my trim man. And oh that I could end here! But pride doth go a larger circuit, it has travelled amongst the commons; every yeoman in this age must be attired like a gentleman of the first head, every clerk must be as brave as the justice, every apprentice match his master in gallantry, the waiting-gentlewoman doth vie fashions with her lady, and the kitchen-maid doth look like some squire's daughter by her habit; the handicraftsmen are in their colours, and their wives in rich silks."

An anonymous writer, who exposed many of the arts of wheedling, as they were practised in the reign of Charles II., accidentally confirms my assertion, that pantaloons, so much worn at present, are by no means a new invention: the passage follows which contains the information: "He thinks it the rankest heresy in the whole world to believe any man can be wise or noble that is in plain clothes; and therefore looks down with con-

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tempt on every body whose wig is not flaxen, and calls the whole tribe of Levi dull fellows, because they go in black, and wear little collar-bands instead of rich-laced cravats, and wonder that people should be so foolish as to believe they can speak sense without wearing *pantaloons*."

The extravagance of the publick in wigs after the above date, and till the middle of the next century, was strange indeed: the satirists of the day, who were unable or unwilling to keep pace with the fashionables, rung repeated peals in their ears; which indeed were almost impenetrable to sounds through the mass of curls surrounding them — curls collected from every quarter of the kingdom, and every description of person. The voice of God against pride in dress and apparel said truly, "Forty or fourscore pounds a year for perriwigs, and ten to a poor chaplain to say grace to him that adores hair, is sufficient demonstration of the weakness of the brains they keep warm. And let me take the boldness to manifest a few of the ill consequences of this idolatry. First, with the woman's hair we have put on her art of the chamber and the dressing-room, tricking up ourselves into as delicate starched-up posture as she. Some of us have got the boddice on to make us look slender and pretty; and the epicene sleeves do very well fit both the he and the she; the sleeve strings are tyed with the same curiosity, and the *valet de chambre* that cannot

not knit the knot *á-la-mode* is kicked away as a bungler in his trade and profession."

"The ladies point drawn together serves well for a cravat, with a grace, while the poor collars (to make way for a naked neck too) that was used when we were boys to chuckle us under the chin, and bid us look up to Heaven, like Severus's tutor, is put to death for breeding us up too civil. The riband at the hilt of our sword is security against his being drawn, while we fix it there (as Cupid's knights) with no other design but to help to wound the hearts of the ladies."—The facetious author of this little work supposes the situation of a field of battle *strewed with wigs*, as well as the bodies of the slain; and he suggests to the King, he ought to have been more exasperated with the perukes sporting on the breasts of his warriors than with that wig which whiffled into the eyes of a preacher and interrupted the discourse addressed to him.

"Were the descendants of the stern patriots of England," he further observes, "to examine their portraits, they would have discovered that their ears did not require the soft covering of an ell-wig. To look no further back than King Henry's days (who had face enough for two kings, and wives enough for three, and yet hair little enough too) we may easily collect what was the general cut, from an act of the lord Cromwell, who, meeting a fellow in Cheapside with his locks somewhat

somewhat too long, commanded him away to the barber's forthwith for the execution of his scissars; who also threatened to lay him by the heels, and humble his feet who prided himself so much on his head." James, a careful prince as to his health, and willing alike to hear the complaints of his people and the cry of a pack of hounds, kept his ears disencumbered with locks; and his son and successor might perhaps have continued the fashion he set, had his reign been more happy. The majority of his subjects, however, determined that they would exceed him, and through party or political motives they nearly shaved away all their hair, and thus obtained the term of Roundheads — a term which is still farther and better explained in Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband, in these words:

"When Puritanism grew into a faction, the zealots distinguished themselves, both men and women, by several affectations of habit, looks, and words, which, had it been a real declension of vanity and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had been most commendable in them; but their quick forsaking of those things, when they were where they would be, shewed, that they either never took them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vain things they durst not practise under persecution. Among other affected habits, few of the Puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their hair long

long enough to cover their ears; and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peaks, as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleaveland, in his Hue and Cry after them, begins—

'With hair in characters, and lugs in text'," &c.

From this custom of wearing their hairs, that name of Roundhead became the scornful term given to the whole Parliament party; whose army, indeed, marched out so, but as if they had been sent out only till their hair was grown: two or three years after, any stranger that had seen them would have enquired the reason of that name. It was very ill applied to Mr. Hutchinson, who, having naturally a very fine thick sett head of hair, kept it clean and handsome; so that it was a great ornament to him, although the godly of those days, when he embraced their party, would not allow him to be religious, because his hair was not in their cut, "nor his words in their phrase."

The Royalists, or Cavaliers, exasperated with their opponents, went, as above related, into the opposite extreme, and wore their hair as long as Nature would permit; those who had been denied flowing locks had recourse to the French fashion of wearing wigs; and, at length, each individual, forgetting their antient animosities, endeavoured to exceed his neighbour in the size of his peruke. But as much remains to be said on

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the subject in the next century, I shall refer the reader to the second part of this work.

Several hints may be gathered from the preceding extracts, relating to the complexion, powdering the hair, and patching the face, that serve to form a conclusion as to the general desire of preserving external attractions sufficient to pass through the ordeal of fashion without incurring the ridicule of the vain and the gay. It might have been supposed, the gentleman or lady who had lost one of their eyes were necessarily excluded from the hope of appearing like the rest of the world; but that this was not the fact, we have the testimony of William Boys, the *English* operator in glass, who informs the readers of "the True Domestic Intelligence" of Sept. 26, 1679, that they must have known him many years as the only person expert in making artificial eyes of enamel, coloured after Nature, in the substance which not only fitted the socket with ease to the wearer, but turned with all the facility of the real organ of vision.

Advertisements of articles of dress stolen furnish the most authentic description of the materials composing it we can possibly obtain; I shall, therefore, from this time insert extracts occasionally till the work is completed.—In 1680, a Mrs. Hankisson mentions a black cloth serge gown, stiff bodied; a Farandine skirt; a crape skirt; lustring petticoats; another of mohair; a

serge

serge and damask morning gowns, the latter lined with red and white checquered silk; a riding hood; two large black flowered silk skirts; a white silk petticoat laced; a mantua, lined with pink-coloured silk; a white mohair petticoat, laced; and a yellow silk net petticoat, with bone lace.

The same year an advertisement was published respecting the loss of a watch, which the owner was informed had been found by a gentleman "that goes in a sad-coloured cloth suit, with a green shoulder-knot, figured with silver, and the facings of his coat of green velvet; he wears a light-coloured perriwig, with a grey hat, and a green taffety riband round it, and a sword knot of the same." The above and following extracts demonstrate that green was the then favourite colour. Thomas Taylor, a boy, who wandered from his home, was described by his friends as wearing "a grey cloth suit, lined with green, with plate buttons, a green vest, a grey cloth monteer cap, lined and edged with green, a green pair of stockings, and a lace neckcloth."

A young gentleman, guilty of a similar act of indiscretion, aged fifteen years, was advertised in August 1681, who wore "strait long brownish hair, a suit of sad-coloured cloth, lined with flowered silk, the ground buff colour, with peach colour and green flowers, and a waistcoat of the same silk; a pair of silk stockings, of the same

colour

colour of the cloth, and a sad-coloured cloth cap, turned up with sables, and laced down the seams with gold breed:" soon after, "a light-coloured cloth coat, lined with blue serge, the cape and sleeves faced with blue shag, gold and silver buttons, and silk, gold, and silver loops, and the cape bound round with broad gold galloon, above three inches broad, was left in a coach," and directed to be returned to the Master of the Rolls in Chancery-lane. Blue plush caps were worn in the same year, and cloth coats, lined with red, and satin ribands of different colours, round the hat. The female servant of that day, in one instance, had on a red petticoat, a grey cloth waistcoat, a linsey woolsey apron, a red handkerchief, a black hood, and a white hat. Campaign coats of cloth had mixed silk and silver buttons, and three frost loops at each pocket flap, the cravats were laced, and waistcoats were made of shalloon, faced before and at the bottom with flowered silk, sometimes of a sad-coloured ground, with the flowers of yellow and white, the buttons small and of silver.

A fellow who robbed Lord Windsor in April 1682 had on "a sad-coloured cloth suit, lined with a striped crape, with silver buttons and loops; a white hat, with gold twisted hat-band, and a dark-coloured hair camblet coat, lined with blue, the sleeves turned up with blue plush, with silver buttons and loops." The Gazette of July 20, 1682,

1682, gives the contents of "a large portmantle full of women's cloaths, lost or stolen:" those contents were, "a mantua and petticoat of grey silk and silver stuff, with broad silver lace; another mantua and petticoat, flowered with liver-coloured and some flesh-coloured spots; a quilted petticoat of lead-coloured satin; a gold-coloured tabby *troilet* (toilet), and pin-cushion, with silver lace; two point *coifs*, two pair of point *d'Espagne* ruffles; a laced night rail and waistcoat; one pair of point *de Venice* ruffles; a black laced scarf; three black satin caps, and some little bands and cuffs." Another parcel that underwent the same fate contained a striped silk mantua; a light-coloured gown, striped with yellow and white; a blue flowered silk petticoat; a pair of blue striped stays; a black fresener hood, and a yellow-spotted gauze hood.

The Princess Ann, the Countess of Pembroke, and several other ladies, are described in the Loyal Protestant Intelligence of March 13, 1682-3, as having taken the air on horseback, "attired very rich in close-bodied coats, hats and feathers, with short perukes." The extreme richness, if not taste, of a petticoat, lost between Hackney and London in 1684, renders it a most magnificent illustration of that part of the female dress. This petticoat was of "musk-coloured silk, shot with silver on the right side, the flowers trail silver, and the wrong side the ground silver,

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the flowers musk-coloured, with a deep white thread bone lace; a white fringe at the bottom, and a gold one over it; six breadths, lined with Persian silk of the same colour." The article thus described should have been combined with the following: Lost in 1685, "a blue satin petticoat, laced with a broad gold and silver lace; a white satin gown, lined with black and white silk, and a pair of silver tabby boddices, embroidered with silk and gold."

"England's Vanity, or the voice of God against the monstrous sin of pride in dress and apparel," appeared at this time, "discovering, 1. Naked breasts, necks, and shoulders, flanting and fantastick habits, long periwigs, towers, bulls, shades, black patches, painting, crisping, and curlings, with an hundred more fooleries of both sexes, to be notoriously unlawful; 2. How ravishingly glorious and gay the Queen of Sheba was, when she went to hear the wisdom of Solomon; with what little satisfaction that wise and renowned king, in all the gayeties, glories, and grandeurs, of state; 3. The methods our English ladies are now taking to consecrate this age into a perfect jubilee; 4. In what respect woodcocks, phesants, and peacocks, exceed in wisdom the huffing and tearing gallants in the city of London; 5. The reason why women are more curious, nice, and exact, in dressing themselves to go to a junketing or a playhouse than they are when they go to church; 6. The

6. The notorious pride of exchange-wenches, with an ingenious and sharp reflection upon them. A pleasant account of some who rifle land and sea, and the whole creation, to maintain their abominable pride; 7. What garments are allowed for kings, queens, princes, dukes, lords, earls, knights, esquires, and their respective retinue, to wear; 8. The reason why ministers should not flant it out in silks and sattens; 9. The reason why the conformable pulpits in England so little appear against the sin of pride in dress and apparel; 10. The strange and new methods some are now taking to widen our breaches; 11. That the roaring of taverns at midnight hath almost drowned the anthems of the church of England. A delightful account of what kind of cloaths our great grandfathers and good old mothers wore in former times. Lastly, there is added a seasonable application to the gallants and ladies of England, with pertinent addresses to the court, nobility, gentry, city, and countrey; all written by a compassionate Conformist. Illustrated with a very large copperplate. Directed especially to the professors in London."

The *gentleman*, whose dress comes next under observation, did not follow a very honourable or safe profession, and probably terminated his existence according to the strict letter of the law he violated when he was thus habited: "a frize coat; a waistcoat and breeches, speckled with red,

red, green, and orange colour; a brown perriwig, and silver or gold rings in his ears" — this was in 1687; at which time, petticoats were made of flowered satin, bordered with gold lace, and deep gold fringe; and by the overturn of a coach, we find that "a cloth coat, with silver and silk buttons and cut sleeves, and a waistcoat and breeches of cloth of silver," were part of the dress of Mr. Richard Hoare, who, by the mention of the sign of a golden bottle, proves to have been of the family of the present respectable bankers in Fleet-street.

John Hall, a lad of fifteen, wore a perriwig in 1688, when he left his friends: another young man, advertised for the same offence, had curled hair; his coat was of the favourite sad-colour with black buttons; his breeches of purple shag; white sleeves, black fringed gloves, and a black castor, with a silver-twisted hat-band. Judith Simes, aged 20, followed the example of the two lads above-mentioned in 1689; and was represented as wearing a figured stuff gown, lined with black crape, and a black crape petticoat, with a red silk petticoat, with black and white flowers, and betwixt the two petticoats a plain Bengal apron.

Flanders lace was in high estimation at this time, and even fans were composed of it. In 1697, Spanish drugget coats and waistcoats, lined with Persian silk, were fashionable; the buttons

and button-holes silver-frosted, the waistcoat trimmed with silver oris lace, and silver buttons.

The following paragraph, which, with one other quotation, concludes this portion of my anecdotes of dress, are from the Protestant Mercury of Feb. 11, 1698, and the Weekly Comedy, 1690: "Some gentlemen lately come from France report, that the fashion there for men is as follows: 'A hat about two inches broad, a peruque very thin of hair, a coat fully plaited all round, with short cuffs, and the quarters of their shoes not over an inch broad, a small neckcloth tucked within their coat, with a very full cravat string tied upon the same.'" Shoulder-knots were introduced by some ridiculous persons, but without success.

"Enter *Prim* in his new wig, and presently after him *Snarl*.

"*Prim*. Your very humble servant, Captain Snarl. You are a gentleman of judgment; pray, how do you like my new wig? is it not a very pretty wig, Sir? Pray, let me beg your opinion.

"*Snarl*. How many bad women do you think have laid their heads together to complete that mane of yours? I'll warrant you, now, you are as proud of your fine capillament as a Morrice-dancer is of his bells, or as the fore-horse of a team is of a new feather. I'll assure you it is a most ponderous piece of prodigality. Pray, what might it cost you a pound?

"*Prim*.

"*Prim.* I find, dear Captain, you are pleased to be merry: but, indeed, I did not buy it by the pound. I can tell you, if you please, how many pounds it cost me. But pray, Captain, observe the make of it; and tell me how it becomes me. I assure you I have shewed it to several gentlemen who dress extremely well, and are good judges of the French mode, and they guessed it to be Monsieur de la Cringlow's make, the King of France's perriwig-maker. It is so finely shaped, and sits with that exactness, if you do but mind it, that, let me turn my head which way I will, the curls fall agreeably to my motion.

"*Snarl.* Indeed, it is a most worshipful piece of art: it is a thousand pities but the man should be knighted that made it. It makes you look in my mind like an Essex calf, peeping out of a thicket of brambles; for I can scarce see any part of your face but your mouth for perriwig.

"*Prim.* As slight as you make of my wig, Sir, I would have you to know, Sir, it costume fifty guineas; and if I was to tell you how it was made, I am sure you would think it worth the money."

In order to give the most perfect idea of the various habits which have generally disguised and *sometimes* ornamented the human body, I have annexed a number of prints to this chapter, all of which are derived from sources of indisputable authenticity: in those from illuminated manuscripts,

scripts, the attitudes and action of each person are my own, but the habits and the colours are exactly similar to the originals. Two of the figures in dress, 1660, 1675, are copies from a print in the "Courtier's Calling;" and the third is the "Enamorata," in a similar publication. The plate of dress, reign of Charles I., and Interregnum, originated from Bulwer's "Man transformed," 1650. Dress of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth comes from the same source; and dress, reign of Elizabeth, from a monument at Hackney. Dress, reign of Edward VI., one figure from a vignette common in works of that date; and the two others from Latimer preaching before the above monarch. The Antiquary will recognize the dress of Caxton in dress 1461. To descend into further particulars would be tedious, betray a doubt of my own veracity, and be perfectly useless to those acquainted with the history of their country. If, however, any of my readers should require proof that I have not deceived them in the illustrations of dress, they may find the garments of every figure in the remaining seven plates, by consulting Vitellius, A. xiii., Nero, D. vii., 20 B. vi. 15 E. VI., and 15 E. IV., in the Cotton and King's libraries, Harl. MS. 1319, and Digby 233, Bodleian library.

Dr. Fuller, in his "Worthies," London, p. 193, gives the following particulars respecting the *Wardrobe* in the Tower: "This was not that

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for the King's wearing apparel, or liveries of servants (kept elsewhere in an house so called, in the parish of St. Andrew's Wardrobe), but for vests or robes of state, with rich carpets, canopies, and hangings, to be used on great solemnities. There were also kept in this place, the antient cloaths of our English kings, which they wore on great festivals; so that this wardrobe was in effect a library for Antiquaries, therein to read the mode and fashion of garments in all ages. These King James, in the beginning of his reign, gave to the Earl of Dunbar, by whom they were sold, re-sold, and re-re-sold, at as many hands almost as Briarius had, some gaining vast estates thereby."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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